DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 164 626 UD 018 009

TITLE Changing Roles of Women in Industrial Societies; A Bellagio Conference, March 1976.
INSTITUTION Rockefeller Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE Dec 77
NOTE 175p.; Best copy available

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$8.69 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Conference Reports; *Developed Nations; Educational Opportunities; *Females; Feminism; Interpersonal Relationship; Leadership; Legislation; Political Power; *Self Concept; Sex Role; Sexuality; *Social Change; *Working Women

ABSTRACT

In this report, the proceedings of a 1976 conference on the changing role of women are outlined. Topics discussed focus around the four papers presented: "Social Trends and Women's Lives, 1965-1985," by Alice Rossi; "Evolving Relationships Between Women and Men," by Joseph Katz; "'Educating Women for Leadership,.' by Margherita Rendel, and "Projected Future Employment and Leadership Needs and Areas," by Andree Michel. Major areas of interest included changing sexual trends, women's economic status and attitudes towards finances, continuing male domination of institutions, male-female development, and coresidential living. Comments of participants from the United States, Sweden, Italy, England, France, and Finland about the role of women in those countries are summarized. (WI)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED164626

Changing Roles of Women in Industrial Societies

A Bellagio Conference, March 1976

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Henry Romney
Rockefeller Foundation

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

UD018009

The Rockefeller Foundation

December 1977

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION WORKING PAPERS

Conquest of Hunger
Reaching the Developing World's Small Farmers
Food Production and the Energy Dilemma (out of print)
Perspectives on Aquaculture (out of print)
International Development Strategies for the Sahel (out of print)
The Role of Animals in the World Food Situation
The World Food Situation: A New Initiative
Food Crops in the Low-Income Countries
Problems in Government Planning of Nutrition Policy
Notes on a Revolutionary Church

Health and Population
Third Bellagio Conference on Population
Bellagio IV Population Conference

Arts and Humanities
Values in Contemporary Society
Ethnic Studies
University Divinity Schools (out of print)
Video: State of the Art
The Contemporary Humanities in an International Context (out of print)
Film and the Humanities
The Useful Humanists
Changing Roles of Women in Industrial Societies

Equal Opportunity
Developing a Sense of Community: Oakland Schools (out of print)
Fellowship Programs: Preparing Minority Group Members for Educational Leadership
Children: In Pursuit of Justice
Youth Unemployment

International Relations
The Management of Interdependence (out of print)
Climate Change, Food Production, and Interstate Conflict (out of print)
China Diary

Education for Development
Strategies for Agricultural Education in Developing Countries, I and II (out of print)
The Role of the Social Sciences in Rural Development (out of print)
Higher Education: Cooperation with Developing Countries (out of print)
Higher Education: Revised Edition

Quality of the Environment
International Environmental Monitoring

WORKING PAPERS are free of charge. If you would like to order available reports address requests to:

Publication Office
The Rockefeller Foundation
1133 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N.Y. 10036

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

Changing roles of women in industrial societies.

(Working papers - The Rockefeller Foundation)
Includes bibliographies.
1. Women--Social conditions--Congresses. 2. Education of women --Congresses. 3. Women--Employment--Congresses. 4. Sex role--Congresses. I. Series: Rockefeller Foundation. Working papers - The Rockefeller Foundation.
HQ1106 1976.C47 301.41'2 77-16792

Published in December 1977 by The Rockefeller Foundation

Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	v
Participants - 1976	ix
Participants - 1965	x
Narrative Summary	1
Social Trends and Women's Lives - 1965-1985 Alice S. Rossi	64
Evolving Relationships Between Women and Men Joseph Katz	101
Educating Women for Leadership Margherita Rendel	118
Projected Future Employment and Leadership Needs and Areas Andrée Michel	138

PREFACE

In March 1976 The Rockefeller Foundation convened its second major international conference on the education of women. Twenty participants from five European countries and the United States met at the Villa Serbelloni study and conference center in Bellagio, Italy, to probe the changes the past decade has brought to women's roles, along with the implications of these changes for educational institutions. This working paper consists of four papers written for the conference, by Alice Rossi, Joseph Katz, Margherita Rendel and Andreé Michel; and an edited condensation of the taped transcripts from the five days of discussions, which was skillfully prepared by Carol Kahn.

One striking feature of the conference was the marked contrast it offered with one held at Bellagio a decade before. Time passes swiftly in our age, and a sense of radical change develops over a far shorter period than was true in the past. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the case of groups, such as women, which have recently emerged into a different awareness of themselves. In 1965, when The Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation jointly sponsored a conference on "Women's Education in Great Britain and the United States" for ten English college administrators and ten American teachers, administrators, and scholars, the women's movement as we know it did not yet exist. Women were still a tactful footnote to the main body of Western tradition, in education as in every other area of inquiry.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the 1965 conference mapped out an agenda for itself which seems oddly short of the mark today. It dealt exhaustively with the administrative mechanics of running higher educational institutions and programs for women, but barely grazed the substantive questions which we now know might have been aired about the aims and contents of women's education and their lives. Participants were more concerned with types of advanced placement exams, with enrollment figures, with tutorials versus lecture courses, with student attitudes toward parents and college presidents, with the adequacy of the school's physical plant.

A decade ago, it was not until the last full day of the conference that the subject of "Participation of Women Graduates in the World of Affairs" was broached. In a paper drawn from her survey of attitudes and aspirations among 15,000 women graduates of the class of 1961, Alice Rossi ventured into an analysis of how women then saw their life patterns, and of what might be necessary for any wide-scale changes in pattern to take place. Most women in Rossi's study perceived their major goal as being homemakers, and those who planned to work for the most part intended to interrupt their careers while their children were young. When the women were asked to look ahead a decade and list what they expected would be important to them, home, children and kin were at the top of the list, and work and career ranked below personal hobbies.

After hearing reports on two innovative continuing education programs - the Radcliffe Institute, begun by Radcliffe president Dr. Mary I. Bunting, and the University of Minnesota Continuing Education program headed by Elizabeth Cless - the conference concluded with a gentle statement of dilemma, which hovers on the threshold of the concerns of the coming decade.

> We discussed again then and on Friday morning the problem as to why so few women are in top posts and in specialized fields. Research indicates that fundamental factors are involved, in that girls are brought up differently and are discouraged from developing skills usually associated with boys. In the academic world it was pointed out that women in the United States tend to spend a great deal of time on committee work and in advising students, and so do not have time for writing the articles and books considered necessary for promotion. In English universities where there are fewer committees, and where the expectations are the same, there is no discrepancy in appointments.

Except for Alice Rossi's paper, there is an absence of the kind of deep analytic probing of women's roles across the spectrum of human relationships which has become the norm in contemporary scholarship about women. There is a measure of polite, pleased surprise that the conference took place at all, and that the participants acquitted themselves well - "we were all impressed," says the summary, "by the

number of experiences and responsibilities each person had had" - despite the distinguished character of the group. The basic assumptions about women and women's education are barely touched. It had not yet become possible to ask why girls were brought up so differently from boys; whether their development of skills ought to be restricted in this way; and if not, how the same skills can be taught and made socially acceptable for both sexes.

When Elizabeth Cless and Rosemary Park approached us at The Rockefeller Foundation in 1974 with the suggestion that it would be fruitful to hold another conference on women's education a decade later, we readily agreed. In addition to being a kind of sequel to the earlier meeting, the project was also related, through its topic and timing, to the 1975 International Women's Year. We decided not to limit participants to the United States and Great Britain, since so much had happened for women in all the European countries in the preceding decade. Moreover, we felt it was not enough to put together a conference about "educating women," but to specify how this education should be focused: toward preparing them for leadership. After some debate we deliberately made the decision to include men, believing that their perspective would add a valuable dimension since there can be no real reform of women's roles without changes in men's roles and attitudes as well. Four papers were commissioned - from Margherita Rendel, Andreé Michel, Alice Rossi, and Joseph Katz - to establish points of departure and reference for the discussions. Elizabeth Janeway agreed to chair a special penultimate session weaving together the most important issues raised during the conference, and Matina Horner took on the task of preparing an agenda for the future.

The six day conference which emerged from this plan proved to be a kaleidoscope of ideas, energy, challenges, illuminations, arguments, and agreements. There were many surprises for all of us; one of the most revealing for American participants was the fact that women in other countries see the traditional roles in their societies very differently from the American observer, in many respects. The European participants were adamant in forcing us to see our goals as our own,

not to be imposed on them arbitrarily. The conference could not have taken place without the devoted effort of Elizabeth Cless, who took time off from her regular pursuits to work as consultant to the Foundation in doing much of the basic organizational work. Her recollections of the 1965 meeting and her perspective on subsequent developments in our society were invaluable. Special thanks also go to my colleagues Joel Colton and Jane Allen for their many wise contributions and their willing and warm support.

December 1977

D. Lydia Brontë
Associate Director for
the Humanities
The Rockefeller Foundation

PARTICIPANTS

Changing Roles of Women in Industrial Societies, 1976

American:

William Chafe
Associate Professor of History
Duke University

Elizabeth L. Cless
Formerly Director, Center for Continuing Education and Special Academic Programs
Claremont Colleges

Jewell P. Cobb
Dean, Douglass College
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Marian Gallaher, M.D.
Professor of Psychiatry
University of Southern California School of Medicine

Matina Horner
President
Radcliffe College

Elizabeth Janeway
Author
New York, New York

Joseph Katz
Director, Research for Human Development and Educational Policy
SUNY at Stony Brook

Marjorie Fine Knowles
Professor of Law
University of Alabama

Alice Rossi
Professor of Sociology
University of Massachusetts

European:

Maj-Britt Carlsson
Ombudsman, Central Organization of Salaried Employees, Sweden

Bianca Maria Tedeschini Lalli
Professor of American Studies
University of Rome, Italy

Stuart Maclure
Editor, The Times Educational Supplement
England

Andrée Michel
Maitre de Recherche
Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, France

A. Rosemary Murray
Vice Chancellor
University of Cambridge
England

Margherita Rendel
Research Lecturer in Human Rights and Education
University of London Institute of Education
England

Helvi Sipila
Director, International Women's Year
United Nations
Finland

Karin Westman-Berg
Professor Emeritus, University of Uppsala
Sweden

From The Rockefeller Foundation:

Jane Allen, Conference Officer
D. Lydia Brontë, Associate Director, Humanities
Joel Colton, Director, Humanities

PARTICIPANTS

Conference on Women's Education in
Great Britain and the United States, 1965

American:

Florence Anderson
Secretary
Carnegie Corporation

Mary I. Bunting
President
Radcliffe College

Elizabeth Cless
Director
Minnesota Plan for Continuing
Education for Women
University of Minnesota

Hannah H. Gray
Associate Professor of History
University of Chicago

Millicent C. McIntosh
President Emeritus
Barnard College

Margaret Habein Merry
Executive Assistant to the
President
Boston University

Helen Kirkpatrick Milbank
Instructor
Monadnock Community College

Janet M. Paine
Assistant Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation

Rosemary Park
President
Barnard College

Alice Rossi
Professor of Sociology
University of Chicago

British:

M.L. Cartwright
Mistress, Girton College
University of Cambridge

Ruth Cohen
Principal, Newnham College
University of Cambridge

K.M. Kenyon
Principal, St. Hugh's College
University of Oxford

Kathleen Major
Principal, St. Hilda's College
University of Oxford

A.R. Murray
President, New Hall
University of Cambridge

Lady Ogilvie
Principal, St. Anne's College
University of Oxford

M. Joan Sargeaunt
Principal, Queen Elizabeth College
University of London

L.S. Sutherland
Principal, Lady Margaret Hall
University of Oxford

Janet Vaughan
Principal, Somerville College
University of Oxford

E. Marjorie Williamson
Principal, Royal Holloway College
University of London

NARRATIVE SUMMARY

Rosemary Murray: 1965 Revisited

Rosemary Murray of Great Britain began the conference by summarizing the major events of the last ten years, a retrospective to the 1965 Rockefeller Foundation Conference on Women's Education. Although that meeting focused specifically on higher education in the United States and the United Kingdom, in a general sense "some of the questions we were then asking ourselves about problems that face women in education have turned out to be the wrong questions; not that the answers were wrong, just the questions. On the other hand, some of the difficulties that we thought were facing women have turned out to be of little importance."

Ms. Murray offered as examples the fact that ten years ago there was no mention of possible legislation to help minorities or deprived people, and little attention was paid to student pressure to participate in the organization and running of universities. "We certainly didn't discuss it, and we probably thought that the involvement of students in student councils was adequate. The last ten years have shown us that we were wrong."

Alice Rossi: Social Trends and Women's Lives, 1965-1985

Alice Rossi also commented on the 1965 Bellagio Conference. "That meeting dealt only with the institutional framework of higher education and the economy. Since that time women have begun to take themselves seriously enough to actively do something about their position in society. They have moved from passively "receiving" an education to becoming initiators - forcing universities to take them into account.

"One reflection of this is that the Ph.D. rate for females in the United States doubled between 1972 and 1975." Yet more men got Ph.D.s in the single year of 1971 than women did in the twenty years from 1950 to 1970.

There have also been significant changes in females' perception of themselves. Psychologists and sociologists are noticing "unprecedented levels of intention to remain childless."

On some issues public attitudes are changing to the point where there is no longer any sex differentiation to speak of. On the question, "Should there be equal pay for equal work?" over 95 percent of the respondents said yes. But there is still either ambivalence or out-and-out rejection of women as bosses (women aren't sure they like them any better than men), and a wife earning more than her husband. On the latter point, some women have intentionally put a lid on their earnings or professional status in order to protect the delicate emotional balance of their marriage.

Sexual Trends

Sexually, the last ten years have witnessed a trend toward younger and younger initiation into sexual experiences and a later and later age of marriage. The implications of this are that more women enter marriage with previous sexual experience, with partners other than their spouse. "Men in the past have traditionally been the teachers, and whatever the sexual practices of the couple were, they were usually distilled from knowledge provided by the male." Women now enter marriage with a standard of comparison. Sex before marriage paves the way for sex after marriage; also for increasing divorce rates and decreasing rates of remarriage.

Economic Trends

Financial support for women - whether in or out of marriage - is still a problem. Women students, for example, feel less comfortable than men about taking out loans and borrowing against their future, because they are not certain they will have a job after graduation.

A related problem is underemployment, and here one solution might be to "release some of the males who spend 200 percent of their time being work-compulsive."

Economic concerns such as the anticipated shortages of food and fuels will stimulate much research and development funding in the next

decade. "What's important from our point of view is that these monies are going into fields where women represent a very small proportion of those now active. This will open up employment opportunities for them in the physical sciences, the technical fields, agriculture, and so on."

Conversely, it's not inconceivable that men will begin to assume more household chores, "which will lead to an appreciation of work for non-pay, which might affect the status of the housewife. This would not be unprecedented: the status of the school teacher and her wage, at least in the American experience, went up after high school teaching became a male field and not before, just as the status of the bank teller has gone down because that has shifted from a male to a female occupation."

Discussion of Rossi Paper

Maj-Britt Carlsson: Sweden

Maj-Britt Carlsson began the discussion of Ms. Rossi's paper by looking toward 1985. She noted that the number of female students in Swedish universities began to increase in the 1950s and 60s, when women whose families would not or could not pay for their schooling first became eligible for government loans. The 1960s were also a time of widespread public debate over stereotyped sex roles. Now, because the loan system has been open to all students for over twenty years, the male/female enrollment in Swedish universities is about equal.

The universities themselves, however, continue to be male-dominated institutions. Women seldom reach top positions within the academic hierarchy; female students are not encouraged to continue with their studies; only 11 percent of Ph.D.s are women.

Although this is not the norm, some Swedish universities do have child care facilities, as do some places of employment. Husbands and wives are increasingly dividing both work and parenting responsibilities between them.

Andrée Michel: The French Perspective

In her remarks on Ms. Rossi's paper, Andrée Michel discussed the conditions of women in France, particularly working women. "French women constitute 35 percent of all the employed people, but 50 percent of all the unemployed. They are the first to be victimized by the economy. Just over half of all French working women are married. Other marriage-related statistics indicate that the higher the woman's education or professional qualifications, the higher her age at first marriage. And there seems to be an incompatibility between marriage and educated women because the divorce rate is climbing; most often the divorce is demanded by the woman."

Interestingly, the people who formed and created the women's liberation movement in France were mainly middle-class women with secondary educations. The well-educated, socially well-placed women had enough resources so that "female" kinds of injustices and discrimination were not of special concern to them. Those who led the fight for more egalitarian treatment in France had to face two major, not unrelated obstacles - a fatalist attitude and a very low national birth rate.

The comments which followed indicated that government allowances rarely influence birth rates, as shown in the Soviet Union and much of Eastern Europe: "The notion that someone would have a third or fourth child because of a very small additional income - given the work and loving care that a third or fourth child represents - is unrealistic."

By making the mother virtually the sole agent for child raising, one participant commented, that society has virtually guaranteed a drop in the birth rate. Community support, extended family support, is no longer available.

Stuart Maclure: Great Britain

The focus on France changed to the view from Great Britain - the male view from Great Britain - when Stuart Maclure began his comments. "I find myself in a not unpleasantly detached position, as an agnostic

among believers, convinced that male and female roles are changing in important respects...and yet not feeling morally obliged to nudge history even faster in the direction it is going." Mr. Maclure admitted that he is "totally lacking in a kind of intuitive conviction that when men and women have adjusted to these important social revolutions, the world will necessarily be a better place."

The statistics for women in England are much the same as they are elsewhere, Maclure said; there has been a steady rise in the proportion of women in higher education, from about one-quarter to one-third. But the number of female university teachers shows no equivalent increase - on the contrary, in 1961, 2 percent of university professors were women; in 1969 that dropped to 1 percent; in 1974 it was 1.8 percent.

About 10 percent of all academics (teachers and researchers) in the United Kingdom are women, with rather more of them in Scotland than in England. In other professions the figures are hardly more impressive. The civil service has about 8 percent women in its top administrative grade; the legal profession showed an increase in female barristers between 1964 and 1974 from 4.6 percent to 7.1 percent.

Mr. Maclure explained that England, as many other Western countries, is expecting significant decreases in the number of academic positions available throughout the 1980s. "So I think there is a very real problem here, namely, what alternative jobs women graduates will get. And this turns, of course, on the state of the economy and the question mark that hangs over the fairly basic restructuring of the British economy.... There's a universal expectation of employment among women and an increasing expectation of employment on level terms with men."

This expectation has brought about much discussion of publicly provided child care, which has come to be a major priority among some policymakers. Unskilled people can be given a trade if they are taught the fundamentals of quality child care; this appears to be the affordable alternative to developing a full-time preschool service, which seems out of the question for England at the moment.

Care for the Aged

Margherita Rendel, after listening to Mr. Maclure's presentation and the discussion which followed it, pointed out that although "we have been talking about child care, children are not the only people who have to be looked after. There are elderly relatives, parents, handicapped adults, and so on." The care of these people falls disproportionately, at present, upon women.

Male/Female Role Changes

At this point in the discussion one participant said, "I don't know where I got the inspiration to pick up this subject now," but some attention ought to be paid to the man's role in our changing societies as well as the woman's role. Lydia Bronte suggested that "most of us around this table are really talking about the changing roles of men and women, which is a bit different from equality for women....I'm not sure that middle-class and working-class women want to be any more equal than they already are with their husbands, who sometimes have very tedious and difficult jobs."

The discussion which followed considered equality in terms of "access vs. attitude." The increase in the female employment rate over the last thirty years has not resulted in any significant improvement in women's economic position, for example. That would require an ideological, attitudinal shift which has not yet occurred. The change in economic opportunity and the movement toward a shift in values seem to be separate aspects of women's liberation, although they are going on at the same time.

Bianca Lalli: Italy

Bianca Lalli began her comments by warning that the number of Italian women in higher education was very small - an extremely narrow sector of society. The total number of university graduates in Italy doubled between 1951 and 1971, from 347,885 to 700,000. Women graduates more than doubled - from 47,551 to 187,342, or an increase of almost 300 percent.

The predominant occupation of all intellectuals in Italy is in medicine, with the fewest involved in agriculture and not many more in industry. Women are especially unwelcome in industry because employers consider their productivity to be low.

The female population of universities is nearly 40 percent, and climbs to 44 percent of actual graduates. Yet only 4 percent of women are professors, although that is more than double the figure of 1963. There is a high percentage of women in the humanities in Italy, similar to that found elsewhere and confirmation of the tendency for the arts and letters to be considered more female.

Ms. Lalli remarked that new legislation has been enacted which calls for the establishment of 7,500 new university chairs. These, she said, "will probably benefit people who have friends, nerve, and money...and for several reasons they may more likely be women."

Women have become much more active in Italian politics since the late 1960s, but there is very little opportunity for them to exercise meaningful political leadership. The introduction of laws legalizing divorce was a "big step forward," something that happened because it was "historically relevant." The argument against it held that lower class women would suffer while their husbands benefited, because these women would never take advantage of the divorce statutes. The fact is that conditioned attitudes among all classes are such that the rate of divorce throughout the country is very low. The same traditional attitude exists toward separations and abortions.

Day-care centers, which have been provided for children from the age of four and up, are now becoming available for infants as well. But the traditional Italian pattern of extended families - grandmothers, aunts, sisters, etc. - has made child rearing less of a problem than it has been elsewhere.

Part-Time Jobs/Protective Laws

Someone asked Ms. Lalli what position the unions take on part-time jobs for women, and the answer was that they are opposed to them: they want part-time jobs for everyone, not just women. Unlike France

where night work, for example, is forbidden for women, the unions in Italy have become somewhat less "protective" in the past few years. The women's movement has made women aware that many of the so-called protective laws and regulations are really discriminatory. This is especially true in the socialist countries where protection laws are the most conservative. A number of speakers argued that conditions considered dangerous or unhealthy for women - such as night work - are also bad for men, and that protective laws should be developed for both sexes.

Retirement Pensions

Ms. Murray remarked that one of the problems concerning the age of retirement involves pensions, and the greater expectations of women. Yet the controversy over female retirement ages, according to another speaker, started because women live longer, are in better health throughout their lives, and take off less sick leave than men, even including pregnancy and maternity leave. "In the United States, many women are paid less at retirement at sixty-five, because the actuarial tables have them living longer."

But in Sweden the pension system entitles both men and women to retire at age 65. Moreover, under a new pension law the retired person is then allowed to have a part-time job. "We think it's better to use part-time work for older people than for younger ones who are at the best age for full-time work."

Pensions in Sweden for people who are not employed still reflect sex differences, and further differences between married women and single women. Single women receive the same unemployment benefits as single men.

Female Unemployment

The discussion then switched to the unemployment rather than the employment of women, and here Ms. Lalli introduced the idea of under-employment. One reason, she thought, that the figures for unemployed men were about the same as for women "is simply because many women

will not register as unemployed workers. They may instead consider themselves to be just underoccupied."

Ms. Rossi added that there is, to her knowledge, no reliable measurement of the unemployment of women in the United States. "In the United States under the Current Population Surveys (CPS), the definition of unemployment is "not working, but seeking work"; that only underestimates female unemployment because women give up just as young people give up. So our statistics on female unemployment and youth unemployment are grossly underestimated in our official data. It's not an easy job to know how one would measure it...but clearly a better measure is needed."

Ms. Rendel said that in Great Britain a new pension scheme has been recently enacted to become effective in 1978, because the old one was clearly guilty of discrimination on the basis of sex.

"The new pension plan has discarded the previous assumption of the dependence of women on their husbands and is moving toward a system which would enable husbands in some circumstances even to benefit from the contributions of their wives." But women are still penalized, Ms. Rendel said, because their pensions are based on their earnings, which are lower than men's because they spend more time outside the labor market.

Joseph Katz: Evolving Relationships Between Men and Women

"I will only tangentially refer to my paper," Joseph Katz began, "because I trust that you have all seen it and there's a general context in which I want to put it: the quality of life. What I'm particularly concerned with is the relationship of men and women to each other.

"I think one of the interesting questions we need to ask ourselves is: How are we going to insure that some of the intellectual advances that have been made can be put into operation? At the moment many things are terribly fragile....

"One of the things that has made it possible for women to take

a more active role in Swedish society, for example, is that the economy was expanding and there was a labor shortage. That need led to looking at women in a different way." Attitudes changed because the practical advantages were clear.

Coresidential Living

"One way in which the women's movement led to greater freedom for both sexes was in the movement toward coresidential living on American college campuses. Until the mid-1960s there was a fair amount of segregation between men and women; they had classes together but were otherwise separated. "What happened in 1966 was that students took things into their own hands, according to the principle that Alice Rossi enunciated, namely that the oppressed really have to take care of themselves. The lunch counter sit-ins in the South stimulated students in general to a new activism. Then women students became involved, in this particular case pressing for dormitory arrangements in which men and women could live together.

"The first such arrangements were at Stanford; the patterns varied, as did the ratio of men to women.

"There was, of course, some administrative resistance...and a good deal of fear in the Dean's mind that what the students were really after was orgies in the dorms.

"I'm always struck by the fantasies of adults....I knew that that was not their intent because they could make whatever sexual arrangements they wished off campus. They simply wanted to have an opportunity for everyday living with each other.

"And one of the great things to behold was that almost immediately after the dorms became integrated, the whole tone changed....Dormitories became centers of activity. Some people began writing plays together and putting them on, some people moved into the community and began teaching in nearby junior high schools....There was a revitalization of relationships...and the idea of coresidential living spread. To me the ideal situation is that men and women can be together in working contact.

"I'm saying all this because it is something that needs planning. It is not enough to integrate dormitories - other forms of collaboration and working together need to be provided as well.

"One result of joint living is a change in attitudes - for example, on the issue of child-rearing. Over 80 percent of the students I mentioned thought both parents should spend about the same amount of time raising the children. On the issue of who is to be the principal breadwinner, more and more women are ready to say 'men and women alike,' although men still largely feel it should be exclusively their function.

"Another area in which the impact of coresidential living has been very important relates to the attitude toward casual sex....Studies show that men are still very much more given to the acceptance of casual sex, at least in theory, than women are. When asked, 'Would you sleep with someone if you found them only physically attractive?' about 75 percent of the women said no, but only 27 percent of the men said they would decline.

"This is what some would refer to as the masculine conception of sex. Clearly, with women, sex and affection are much more closely linked. Most women feel that marriage is too important a business to be determined just by the fact that 'we had a sexual relationship.' Many men in our interviews were upset by that....

"Women have been functioning as the teachers of men in this regard. What results can be the development of a greater sense of a personal, as well as sexual, relationship.

"About sex as such, our own data are rather surprising. What we find is that women are more sexually active than men. I speculate that once some of the consequences of sex - social ostracism, pregnancy - were removed, many young women became free to really enjoy it. An interesting implication is that you now have the detachment of sex from marriage.

"Until recently, it has been a standard psychoanalytic developmental theory that belated sexual gratification was in itself a condition of ego development. The postponement of sexual gratification meant that other components of the personality could be cultivated,

particularly intellectual ones. In fact, both sexual and psychological development might well be furthered by these early experiences. What this brought home to me is the extent to which psychological theories, which appear to be scientifically based, are really a question of social stereotypes.

"Of course, many of these new situations can lead to problems, such as young people being pressured into behavior they are not really ready for. There is also the increase in coresidential living to the point where, on many campuses, those who prefer a single-sex arrangement no longer have that choice."

Continuing Education Programs

Mr. Katz then changed his subject from young women to those middle-aged and older, where there are changed opportunities and a changed social setting. One of these is a trend toward continuing education programs for women. A study was done of middle-aged women who have returned to school, to see what the effect was on their home life - their relationships with their husbands and children. The general upshot of the investigation was that the relationships improved. "I think," said Mr. Katz, "that what happens is that the woman becomes more interesting, and also more independent.

"The enlargement in the women's lives was one of the greatest things I've ever been privileged to see; I've never seen that kind of eagerness for learning among college students. The difference in these women was remarkable - women with all kinds of backgrounds, with all kinds of consciousness levels, with all kinds of prior education." The husbands, according to the study Mr. Katz cited, became more and more enthusiastic about their wives' educations when they saw their new excitement. Yet "it must be noted that their admiration was not without ambivalence." The women too had mixed reactions, often feeling guilty about not spending enough time with their families or about spending too much family money on themselves.

The increased independence of women gives rise to a fundamental redefinition of the role of men. For one thing, it frees men from

a certain anxiety: What if my income diminishes, or I lose my job, or I become incapacitated? Their wives are beginning to learn how to look after themselves and "the relief of that anxiety, in itself, has potentially revolutionary implications for the male consciousness."

Discussion of Katz Paper

Elizabeth Cless: Adult Development

"Those of us who have been working with the men and women who are returning to school have, for a long time, been pressing for studies of adult growth and development. Previously we assumed that growth and development ended someplace in the late teens, certainly by age 21, and that character was then formed.

"Now we are saying to the research psychologists, 'We have files full of material for you. We know there is a pattern in adult growth and development.' And we have been presumptuous enough to tell them what it is.

"For example, many of the studies I have seen say that it is only at about age 40 that we finally cut our ties to our own parents. Before that we often react to our children as though they were taking some of the attention away from us. If parents could recognize their own growth patterns, they perhaps could see why they are reacting to their children in a particular way.

"Also, it is apparently normal for a woman to change her intellectual priorities some time between the ages of 30 and 45. Men, too, are returning to school in rapidly increasing numbers. Probably they no longer feel they must be the sole support of their families."

One speaker then suggested that really two different things were being discussed, "first, mid-life career changes among people who already have some kind of training or professional interest; and second, the women who have married and had children and who then decide to go back to school."

Matina Horner: Continuing Education

Matina Horner pursued the topic of continuing education, saying

that in the United States, it will probably be the major growth area in education of the future. "In the Radcliffe program, from 1950 to 1975 there was an average student population of 250 in the program; since that time it has grown to 2000."

At first, the Radcliffe program concentrated on "enrichment" courses - philosophy, literature, and so on, for women whose children were at school. In the past two years the shift has been very dramatic. Courses have been moved from mid-day to after work, and the age of the participants has changed from the 35 to 55 years old category to include 20 to 65 year olds.

Ms. Horner noted that there was a marked increase in the number of men in these programs: "Sixty percent of the population already have a B.A., and yet 95 percent are taking the courses for B.A. credit. Some 33 percent of them have advanced degrees and Ph.D.s. Both men and women have very complicated, complex, and diverse reasons for returning to education."

Mid-Life Career Changes

One participant made the point that what has happened is that young women need not choose their career - if it is to be other than wife and mother - right after college. Many women now postpone the choice until after their children are grown. "And perhaps one of the things Matina Horner suggests is that once you are admitted to a college or university you remain the responsibility of that institution for the rest of your life."

Jewell Cobb pointed out that one of the big problems in the health fields - especially medicine - is the fact that the age cutoff is 35 except for the rare superperson. "This is a very serious problem and a change we have to get through the American Medical Association, which is a tremendous barrier."

Ms. Rossi disagreed with the view that the university becomes responsible for its students: "I'd rather view the university as an institution that students can use whether they have been there or not; it should make no difference. The counseling function is critical."

Joel Colton: Trends in Female Employment

"One of the most remarkable things to happen in the United States has been that the tradition of an M curve, with withdrawal from that labor market in the prime child-bearing years, and a return in the post-35 period - the high rate coming at age 20, the low rate at age 28, increasing rates after 35 - has radically altered in the last 15 years. We have had an inverted U which is almost exactly parallel to the male trend, with the highest rate of increase since the mid-1960s among people in the prime child-bearing years, especially among women who have children under 5 years old.

"There is a very basic kind of cultural logic at work here. The major change during and after World War II came among women who were over 35, whose children were married and no longer in the home. Then in the 1950s and early 60s the change was among women whose children were 6 to 17 years old; the women found jobs while the children were in school - again, not challenging the idea that a woman's primary role during the early childhood years was as a homemaker.

"Then in the late 1960s and early 70s you have a major change in the attitudes and practices of the younger group; 86 percent of women in their early twenties who have a college degree are employed, and many of these women are preparing for highly demanding careers - they are in medical school, business school, law school and so on."

Mr. Colton pointed out that humankind in general has had a tendency to go through a mid-life stage of questioning earlier choices - "trying to reassess whether one is caught in a trap and should be going in another direction."

Ms. Rendel offered this statistical caution: "When you talk about the number of women who are married and have preschool children and are employed, that percentage is only 29 percent of the labor force, of which only 20 percent is full time. In relation to the population as a whole, only 5 percent of women with preschool children are working full time. The change from the M to the U curve is still a fairly moderate pattern. That the percentage rose from 10 percent to 29

percent means that it is tripling, but it is a fairly modest percentage still."

University Enrollment

Ms. Murray commented that the expanding enrollment in universities is slightly off, "and there may even be a decrease in applications from the normal age group."

Ms. Cless added that this was a trend that administrators should recognize, and that, for instance, "we cannot use the same application form. We cannot use the same qualifications for financial aid. We cannot use almost 90 percent of the procedures we have developed for the 16 and 17 year olds."

Karin Westman-Berg: Sexual Relationships

Ms. Westman-Berg began her comments on Mr. Katz's paper by warning that her remarks were personal rather than professional. Before she went to the United States to deliver a talk at Harvard, she said, she tried to study the results of the women's movement in Sweden, particularly a women's group called Red Stockings.

"This group feels they can prove that women are being terribly exploited sexually. Yet Mr. Katz tells us that women seem less repressed, less guilt-ridden, and more in touch with their own sensuality.

"I think what happens - at least in Sweden - is that after a few years they are regarded as promiscuous by Swedish men, and by other women, too. And yet the young men who follow the same pattern are admired and considered successful.

"This double standard is still very strong in Sweden, and is one of the main reasons for sexual exploitation. Women can't defend themselves against it.

"One of the main arguments against women's liberation in Sweden nowadays is that men are impotent with 'these terrible feminists.' A previously virile young man confessed that he found it impossible to be a successful lover with a woman he felt rather strongly for. When he discussed the problem with male friends who had had similar

experiences, they began to realize that, without knowing it, they have been indoctrinated to be sexually aroused by naked women, breasts, hips, and so on. They are not, however, aroused by the mind or the personality. They worked hard to get rid of this attitude, and they succeeded. At the end they said it was wonderful to be able to experience feelings - emotions - and, at the same time, feel physical excitation."

At the end of Ms. Westman-Berg's comments, Mr. Katz responded to the point she had made about promiscuity. "I think a distinction has to be made between promiscuity, which is sort of indiscriminate, and premarital sex. What I have been finding is that most relationships are serious and there are not very many partners either for men or women. The actual behavior of both men and women is not nearly as casual as their attitude.

Mr. Katz also said he had not noticed women in America being considered whores later in life because of earlier sexual relationships.

Regional Attitudes Toward Sex

One speaker suggested that the problem might occur when some of these women return to small communities from larger and more cosmopolitan college towns. Their past may come back to haunt them "when it comes to the point of establishing marriages and families."

Mr. Katz responded that even cosmopolitan Stanford was very much opposed to the idea of integrated male-female housing when it was first considered and there was a great deal of local editorializing against it. But what in fact happened after the campus set up coresidential housing was that the community response was very positive; journalists were dispatched to the school and came back with glowing reports.

In addition, there was surprisingly little resistance from the parents. Probably the diminution of the fear of pregnancy was an important factor in that.

Ms. Knowles thought a truly representative sample, which included

Alabama and Tennessee, would produce quite different reactions. The attitude toward divorce in these regions, let alone contraception and abortion, is very much more conservative.

This was strongly seconded by Lydia Bronte who agreed that "very often social scientists study populations in the Northeast and on the West Coast, yet there's a lot of America in between."

Alice Rossi referred to a book, Contemporary Adolescent Sexuality, which looks at sexual behavior with at least some attention to regional variations. "You could rank the regions of the United States in terms of levels of sexual experience as West, Northeast, Midwest and South."

Premarital Sex

Ms. Rossi went on to comment on the theory of premarital sex which holds that if you're not sexually available, you deny yourself the opportunity to even cultivate a meaningful relationship. "This leads to the impulse to be sexually available before you want to be, which is fine if you do it once and the relationship in fact turns out to be meaningful. But that's not a typical experience. What's more apt to happen is the realization that the man is not interested in a permanent relationship. The first relationship ends and the woman tries again. By the end of the second affair, fantasies of concern about her own behavior begin to emerge.

"What this suggests to me is that behavior is running ahead of the psychological capacity to cope with conflicts in this area, and that this is particularly acute for women."

Another point Ms. Rossi wanted to make was the less rosy side of contraception and abortion. "The fact that contraception is now a female responsibility leaves women without controls. Women have accepted the fact that they are the contraceptors and also that they carry the responsibility for coping with abortion. And abortion is a very real possibility because the so-called effective contraceptives are not used at the beginning of a relationship. They are used when there is a stable, on-going involvement and one can anticipate sex several times a week. So when women go through the abortion experience,

it is often without the comfort and support of the sexual partner: they pay for it themselves - psychologically alone and financially alone."

Mr. Katz acknowledged that there is indeed this underside to the new freedom.

Mr. Colton then commented that any surveys among young people, such as the one conducted by Mr. Katz, will almost surely produce the results that are expected. Marian Gallaher agreed, noting that "both young men and women put down what they would like to feel, their ideal self so to speak, rather than their actual behavior."

Marian Gallaher: Masculinity, Femininity, and Power

Marian Gallaher spoke on her experiences in counseling young people in regard to the new sexuality, and said it was clear that biologically the woman has far more sexuality than was ever thought possible, and that this tends to frighten some men.

"We have had men come in with problems of impotence. When men find themselves impotent they begin to question their masculinity. When a woman doesn't have an orgasm she figures, 'O.K., so I haven't had an orgasm,' but she doesn't question her femininity.

"This basic belief is more fragile in a man, and I think the women's movement must understand and accept this. Otherwise we're going to be at loggerheads. I believe what has happened is that men have institutionalized their fear; this is why women are having difficulty getting jobs and higher pay.

"The new freedom of youth, sexual and otherwise, has elements of real helplessness. Many young people just don't know what they want to do. I'm terribly concerned with the increased rate of suicide and murder, two things which I think stem from the same root of helplessness, frustration, powerlessness."

Dr. Gallaher argued against the statement that women are the sole contraceptors by citing the fact that more and more men are having vasectomies. "Men understand the permanence of this, but they feel quite strongly about not imposing the problems of abortion and the

pill upon women." One interesting aspect of the women's movement brought out by Dr. Gallaher is the emergence of what is in essence a whole new class of women - between 40 and 65 years old. "Their children are out of the home. Half of them are widows. Yet they are strong, healthy, sexual people. Now we have to figure out something for them to do. I think part of the consciousness of this group that it is separate and defined came about through the women's movement."

Another change that can be attributed to feminism has been the dual commitment of the highly motivated career women to her profession as well as to her family. According to studies cited by Dr. Gallaher, these women "not only have to be pretty good in their careers but they have to be supermoms as well." Although they could hire help, often they opt for doing the shopping, cooking, and child care themselves.

"Part of this comes from the belief, certainly in the medical profession, that young children need their mothers. If this is true, then day-care centers alone won't solve the problem.

"As one solution to this I would like to see a change in the education process. Where is there a rule that says you must go through medical school in four years, do your internship in one and your residency in three?"

Matina Horner: Career Pressure

Ms. Horner brought up a new subject in connection with today's college woman, namely the pressure to have a career as a function of her education.

Until recently, a career for women was seen as an alternative to having children. But what about the women who have had their children and are living longer? They too now look to a career as a source of satisfaction, self-esteem, and fulfillment. At the same time, men have decided to devalue competition. They talk instead about a more cooperative society and a better quality of life.

"And the ambivalence, the conflicts, the dissonance, the anxiety, I think are inevitable when you get such rapid and profound changes

happening in so narrow a time. "As somebody here has noted, in periods of economic growth and expansion there's the opportunity for a larger social consciousness; one sees women or minorities entering traditionally male or white areas, and the world doesn't fall apart. But just as we have come to accept some of these changes, the economic world has begun to fall apart and it's very hard not to couple both those things."

Historical Trends

"I am consistently struck by the dramatic rapidity with which these profound social, political, and economic changes have occurred. And I feel a tremendous urgency for the kind of information that will help us distinguish effectively between temporary change, cyclical movements, and long-term trends. Because if we don't do that, we, as educators, are going to be caught in the position of reacting, and never making any active or creative plans for realistic changes ahead.

"But if we have this information, we can think about alternatives for the future, and plan for them. A historical perspective is terribly important for this: for example, there was a women's movement in the United States once before, in the 1930s. What happened to make that advance possible? What accounted for subsequent regressions?

"I think these questions have to be asked so that we don't miss the boat again."

Socialization Experiences

Ms. Horner then said that as a psychologist she was especially concerned about the functional significance of contradictions in the attitudes and behavior of young men and women. She cited a study done at the University of New Hampshire among 400 students, in which male/female relationships were observed in both cooperative and competitive situations. In cooperative situations, the women performed beautifully. The men, however - even those who had previously expressed all the standard "counter-culture" attitudes of support for women's liberation, criticism of competition, and so on - displayed the most strident power fantasies conceivable. And this was in totally non-threatening situations.

One thing this experiment proved, said Ms. Horner, is that cooperation is not part of the male socialization experience. Whatever cooperative efforts they had made had usually involved teams and competitive sports. "Whatever they say about being supportive of women, they don't actually feel it. How are they coping with the fact that women may be teaching them sexuality? There's a great sense of male powerlessness and impotence in this new relationship."

Mr. Katz interrupted to ask what the women's fantasies in the study were, to which Ms. Horner replied that by and large they displayed great ego strength and a goal-orientation to competitive behavior. "One of the frightening implications of the results is that if you get this kind of intensity on the part of men in such a harmless situation, what kind of reaction will result when the stakes are high?"

Ms. Rendel commented that most women probably experience relationships with men as power relationships, whether they are sexual in nature or not. In fact, she suggested that there was probably not a woman in the room who had not at some point experienced at least a minor physical assault from a man.

"Certainly that is the implication in American films, where every situation a woman finds herself in hinges on the possibility that she might be assaulted. Certainly if one is conditioned in this way it affects one's entire attitude, especially in terms of courage, initiative, and self-confidence. In Britain we have a whole different set of experiences."

Ms. Westman-Berg thought that both men and women were in need of a new life pattern which reduced the competitive instinct in men by having them work with their children and collaborate with their wives. "Women have always adapted to males. Now, if the men adapt to us it will be much better for them, as well as for us."

Ms. Horner noted that she had not meant to leave the impression that one cannot undo socialization experiences. She advocated working with the generation now in college "to help them recognize and come to grips with the ways they have been socialized, and bring to the fore

some of these forces that are clearly subconscious. That way they can learn to deal with them, and hopefully socialize their own youngsters differently."

She then spoke of the results of two separate studies which revealed an interesting phenomenon on the fertility patterns of successful career women. "As women began to close the professional gap between themselves and their husbands or boyfriends, a success-anticipatory pregnancy resulted, either planned or unplanned. That's a very interesting coping strategy, as you begin to narrow the gap between yourself and the male.

"With single women who achieved success you had a stopping in their careers. Those two things fit together. The data shows a life patterning trend that raises some basic questions about the significance of children for career women, given that we haven't really changed our socialization practices yet.

"The other side of this is the fact that a great many women are giving up their careers because their husbands are feeling castrated and it just isn't worth it. Or they resort to the divorce option, which is a different coping strategy."

Different Effects of Education

Mr. Maclure raised a number of questions about the different effects of the educational system in the United States as compared, for example, with those in his own country, Great Britain. "The question of mature students returning to higher education is quite a different issue in Europe, because we are talking about a much smaller segment of the community. Moreover, there is the notion that the first claim to continuing education should be by those who haven't had any education beforehand."

Ms. Rendel: "I could spend quite a lot of time discussing the ways in which nominally equal educational systems in various countries in fact operate very differently upon the two sexes.

"I have with me a number of statistics about the British educational system, such as the effect of early specialization. For example,

boys, who will get apprenticeships, stay with the standard courses; girls, who generally have to pay for and pursue their own vocational training, take typing and shorthand."

Ms. Rossi noted that not much attention had been given to national differences in educational incentives and social and class distinctions. "In the United States, I think it would be fair to say that there have been four determinants of education: social class, ability, sex, and race. There has been a good deal of sociological work done on the interaction of these variables. Social class for a long time was more powerful than ability."

Ms. Rendel cited a study which showed that the most important variable for the education of children is the educational attainment of the mother. And yet, she said, the basis of practically all our assumptions about education and social class is almost always correlated with the attainments of the father.

In response to Ms. Murray's query, "How do you define social class?" Ms. Rossi replied that "in most sociological literature, it's a composite measurement that includes education and occupation."

Ms. Lalli said that in Italy there was often little correlation between income and class, because some salaries were very low even though the occupation carried status. Mr. Maclure remarked that the fifteenth Duke of Lancashire, who had recently died, had been bankrupt five times in his life, but a member of the upper-upper class to the end.

Mr. Colton: "I'd like to say a few things about the appointment of women in positions in higher education. It's a changing situation. One of the significant impacts of the women's movement is that schools now very consciously and deliberately seek female candidates; in addition, women are no longer disqualified because of the kind of thinking that went on even as recently as ten years ago, i.e., 'She has a husband; she won't move; she'll have more children.'

"And interestingly, the men who have been replaced by these women are not resentful."

Mr. Colton then asked Dr. Gallaher if the new socialization process

which seeks to do away with stereotypes would mean that young girls, now taught that they may become doctors or lawyers, are also taught to be competitive? She responded that the idea was to have men look at their competitive natures and question whether that extreme a conditioning was necessary; or whether perhaps it might not be agreeable to be more contemplative, more expressive, more feeling.

"I think we're confusing the words 'aggression' and 'competition,' and I'd like to throw in a whole different word - 'assertive.' I think assertiveness is something that we all want, and that we all should have. The difference between assertiveness and aggression is that the assertive person protects his/her own territorial space without infringing on someone else's."

Similarities and Differences

The discussion focused heavily on the composition of the women's movement in various countries. In Italy, for example, Ms. Lalli explained that it was much more ideological, "much more of a social and political issue than simply a technological one." Someone volunteered that in the United States the women's movement is highly politicized as well as being carefully drawn along bourgeois and intellectual lines.

In France the movement seems to be organizationally fragmented but, according to Ms. Michel, "they are very united as to their goals."

Ms. Murray said that in England the number of girls going through the universities has increased far more than the number of boys, but the percentage of women in academic positions has been decreasing in the past ten years. However, those who are appointed are quite different from previous academics. Formerly, they were usually spinsters; today there are far more married women. Although the number of university appointments for women has decreased, Ms. Murray had personally not noticed any discrimination against them. The cases known to her were ones in which the woman was not as well qualified as the man who got the appointment.

Ms. Knowles, however, remarked that qualification is a very elusive

concept, and that perhaps what needs to be done in some institutions is to examine the relationship between the qualifications and the job.

Andrée Michel: Projected Future Employment and Leadership Needs and Areas

Ms. Michel explained that she had chosen to interpret the assigned topic from a global rather than a French or a Western perspective because of the interdependence of all parts of the human society. "I intend to examine, from a feminist point of view, the predictions of the ILO concerning female employment in the future. I would also like to reflect on the leadership needs of human society, including, in my observations, women in higher education and also their social responsibility.

"My first assumption is that it is bad for women not to be economically independent. Psychological autonomy and sexual freedom cannot be achieved if women are economically dependent on others."

According to ILO statistics, Ms. Michel explained, only 12 percent of African women make active economic contributions to the society. Yet it is a fact that between 50 and 80 percent of the food consumed by African families is produced by women. ILO statistics also estimate that 26 percent of the economically active population in the Third World consists of women, but that the percentage will decrease in the future - the reason being that rural females will tend to emigrate to the cities, only to swell the ranks of the urban unemployed.

There are two separate standards for agricultural production in the developing countries - one for men working to produce food for export, another for women who work to nourish the population. The men are paid, the women are not. "They (women) work from the beginning of the day to the evening, their working time is longer, they receive no salary, no recognition, and their work is not included in the statistics of the economically active population." Ms. Michel said that it was not only in Africa that all the economic indicators have been fixed by men. The same is true in other parts of the world where proper recognition should be accorded to the non-salaried functions of women.

Areas for Increased Female Employment

There are six areas, Ms. Michel said, where the increased presence of women would be an important step forward.

The first is in the earth sciences - geology, ecology, mineral resource engineering, and so on. The second is in the field of health especially doctors concerned with population problems and medical aides concerned with sanitation. Third, there is a need to develop jobs and professions for women in areas which relate directly to the population of the Third World - the human side of sociology and ecology, for example. Fourth, the development of national and international planning requires urban and rural planners, demographers, statisticians and architects. Fifth, there has to be a new equilibrium between the sexes in the educational systems, so that women not only go into teaching of preschool and primary grades but also into technical education at the university level. And finally, women must become political functionaries in order to participate in the decision-making process.

"Women should create pressure for a new international order, asking for more economic justice. It seems to me that the improvement of women's status implies a change in social and economic disparities and a total change in the present power and value structure. The women's coalition should be oriented toward human solidarity."

Discussion of Michel Paper

Maj-Britt Carlsson: Trade Unions

Ms. Carlsson's comments were observed from the trade unionist point of view because that is her area of expertise, and because the trade unions in Sweden carry most of the employed people. The biggest, the Federation for Blue Collar Workers, has 2 million members. Ms. Carlsson's union is the Central Organization for Salaried Employees - a union for white collar workers.

"Women have many problems in common, irrespective of their standard of living or where in the world they live. Economic development per se is not a guarantee of equality between men and women. The right

of all people to work, to earn their livelihood, must be upheld. Women must have the right to gainful employment on equal terms with men. Through their participation in working life and union life women also participate in the development of society.

"An active labor market policy is a prerequisite to improving women's positions in the work force, and to increasing their self-confidence. We're working toward abolishing special laws which protect women.

"In order to counteract the weak position that women have today, for many years to come it will be necessary to overcompensate in special fields, in favor of women. Approximately half of all jobs created through state aid to assisted areas of a country must be given to women. The Declaration adopted by the I.U. Conference stated: 'Positive special treatment during a transitional period, aimed at effecting equality between the sexes, shall not be regarded as discriminatory.'

"Where women are concerned, the demand for equality includes greater opportunities for gainful employment, while from the man's point of view it means liberty to assume a greater share of responsibility for their children.

"A great deal has happened in the Swedish labor market in recent years. Several new laws have been passed enhancing security of employment, endorsing the right to work and to attend trade union business meetings during working hours, and to take time off for educational purposes.

"The trade unions have played, and continue to play, an important part in the work for achieving equality of the sexes. They exert a great deal of influence on social development, and have initiated programs of reform covering practically the entire range of social affairs.

"Our program on family policy, for example, includes labor market policy, education policy, the financial support of the family, the housing environment, and amenities. We refer to these matters as the equality question, no longer as the 'woman's question.'

"In mid-1975 women constituted 40 percent of the Swedish labor force; also they no longer disappear from the labor market during recessions as they once did. On the contrary, during the last recession their participation continued to increase. In addition, more than half the total number of women with children under 2 years old have obtained gainful employment."

Part-Time Employment

"The big problem is that men and women have different behavior patterns in the labor market, for example, those concerning working hours. Seventeen percent of all those employed had steady part-time jobs in 1974. That's 650,000 people, and over 600,000 of them were women. Teenage boys and retirement-age men are the only males who regularly have part-time jobs.

"Part-time work is more common among middle-aged and older women than among younger women. It is also more common among women with older children than among younger women. That was very interesting information for us because we used to believe that part-time work was for women with small children.

"The vast majority of women working part time are married to men with full-time jobs. Women with a high level of education, especially those with professional training, are less likely to work part time. Many women with part-time jobs have their working hours scheduled in such a way that they miss out on one or more social welfare benefits, yet pensions and daily sickness allowances are even more important to them than to others because of their small incomes.

"Men and women may need less active, or reduced, working hours at various times in their working life - for study, for child care, or as retirement age approaches. So we do want flexibility in working hours, but we don't want to have the part-time category limited to a special group within the labor market."

Toward Equality in the Labor Market

"The divided labor market is probably the greatest obstacle to equality between men and women. Affirmative-action measures should

therefore be taken to establish genuine equality of the sexes in the job market.

"Job evaluation systems must be developed which put greater emphasis on the human and social importance of work. Another measurement should deal with the economic and technical value of work. Equal pay for equal work must be put into practice as soon as possible.

"The ability of the family to plan its life is, to a great extent, determined by working hours. Working hours have a bearing on equality, on opportunities for gainful employment, on education, and on trade union and political activity, as well as on the running of the home and the care of the children.

"The ability of adults to assume dual roles is dependent upon satisfactory child care arrangements. Care for healthy and for sick children, care at inconvenient hours of the day and night - all these aspects of child care are needed.

"Financial assistance to young families has also influenced the equality of men and women; the best way of providing financial assistance is by giving both parents the chance to go out and work."

Role of Education

"Schools must take active measures to combat traditional attitudes concerning sex roles. They must prepare students of both sexes for dual roles in adult life - in the home, in the family, in employment; they must end the segregation among various fields of study. (Technological subjects, which are undertaken almost exclusively by boys, are a case in point.) All elementary and upper school students should receive a certain measure of instruction in social, technical, and economic subjects.

"The breaking down of age-old traditions concerning the allocation and organization of work in the home is an important task for the domestic-science sector. Students must be given an opportunity to see the connection between conditions in the home and the ability of women to assert themselves in the labor market.

"Priority must be given to the question of how education is to be

distributed among different groups, regions, and educational fields, in order to cater to the needs of individuals both in and out of the work force.

"Future planning of the educational system should be based on the idea of recurrent education - the alternation of periods of education and periods of employment - as a normal model for individual education planning. This would allow for greater interaction between education and working life."

William Chafe: On Diversity

"We find ourselves in a situation in the United States in which the whole question of equality and opportunity has to be addressed in a new way. The reason is largely that the matter of defining equality has been raised in a new way by the civil rights movement and the women's movement. Many of the attempts at reform in America have concentrated on procedural equality, on legal rights, on having a common status in the courts before the law. Yet it has now become clear that even if you had the same rights, you did not have equal opportunity - opportunity required substantive change, and new distribution of resources and income.

"I think this is true not only in the United States but around the world. My major concern is that we be more aware of the difficulties of making the transition from the kind of environment which we in this room have grown up with, to the ones which might exist in very different cultures, with different sets of values, with different ways of life, different institutions and economic processes.

"Many of the job opportunities we have been talking about may not be consistent with the needs of people in the Third and Fourth Worlds. Their own cultural modes are often quite different from our own, and there should be more of an effort to communicate from one level of experience to another and not just to gloss over these distinctions.

"Within this framework there's another large question I'd like to raise, namely, whether it is possible to talk about women as a self-conscious, collected group. Women are the only victimized group in the world who do not generally live with each other in ghettos, who do not

suffer the same common experience of either residential unity or a common living condition. They are dispersed throughout all cultures and classes, they are members of ethnic, cultural, religious, and racial groups as well as a basic sex group, and they therefore have many things not in common as well as many things in common.

"If we are making the assumption of identity and solidarity, we should perhaps reconsider, or at least raise the question, to what extent solidarity exists, or how it might come into being if it doesn't.

"One thrust of the feminist movement in the United States, for example, has been toward the goal of achievement - achievement based on individualism rather than collectivism. This is part of our cultural heritage as opposed to China's, for example. I think we have to recognize that while there is talk of a feminine culture of cooperation, historically there has been this great emphasis on individuality."

Ms. Michel disagreed with Chafe's argument, saying that at the Mexican conference, which she attended, all the women, whether from developed or underdeveloped countries, found that they had a common denominator - they were without power. Consequently, they did have a feminine consciousness. In addition, she said, there is the possibility that a basic kind of education exists which is common to women in all countries.

Ms. Michel also questioned the accuracy of the emphasis on individual achievement, noting that in France and elsewhere the task of working toward better conditions for women is part of a collective effort at resolving broader social problems. "And it is part of the humanist tradition of feminism to link personal achievement with help toward others."

Mr. Maclure also commented on cultural variations and national differences versus national similarities, saying, "I would have thought that from an anthropological point of view, it would be awfully difficult to assume that we can take a completely different idea of the relationship between men and women and plunk it down on a worldwide multiplicity of cultures.

"I would have thought that if you went through Africa, country

by country, or India or Asia, you would find that there were very strong local customs which were dependent upon these very disabilities, or disequilibria, between men and women. I would have thought that it was just pious talk to say we should change the whole of the education system so that it could be equal for men and women. People aren't like that.

"It seems to me that if one takes another objective - the objective of avoiding starvation - that in itself is likely to be a dominant cause of change. Shifts in the sex roles may turn out to be important corollaries of doing away with starvation, and those shifts may occur naturally as the other goal is pursued."

Margherita Rendel: On Politics

Ms. Rendel offered her comments on Ms. Michel's paper, beginning by saying that if she were a Minister in a Third or Fourth World government she would surely implement several of the proposals made at the conference but that the problem is that all these governments are sovereign entities and no outside party can prescribe how they should proceed.

"What is the outsider supposed to do? Is one supposed to say, 'We won't give you aid unless you employ women,' and then let people starve if they don't agree? It's a humanistic problem."

Helvi Sipila: International Women's Year

Helvi Sipila also spoke to the question of cultural diversity. She acknowledged "major differences" yet pointed out that "on the other hand, the International Women's Year brought together a great deal of information that we had never had before. All Third World women really want education. They may want to have something less advanced than what we have been discussing here, or they may want to have some kind of vocational training. They may not need as high a level of education as we're talking about.

"What came out of those programs is that for the first time we have an agenda for the whole world, with a number of specifics for national

action, for regional action, for global action. And every single country has done something already.

"Until recently even the United Nations' own organizations didn't recognize the extent of the so-called women's problem. The World Bank confessed that they only discovered it about five years ago, when they realized that 40 percent of the world's poorest people are women, and that unless they do something special for them it will get worse.

"At this moment there is an interagency task force dealing especially with the problem of development, and they too have admitted that they almost forgot about women. Men seem not to realize what is happening.

"I think the real disadvantage is that women have not been heard. They are a silent people who have not even been heard by planners at the national level.

"In the developing countries these women have children and more children because that's all they know how to do; they do it for survival. They are depending on these children for economic and social security. And what is even worse, I think, than the fact that they are adding to the population problem, is the quality of these children. In most cases the mothers are unhealthy because they do not have enough to eat and consequently the children are unhealthy and many of them die.

"One of the really frightening figures that WHO came out with just last year is that within Latin America, 107 million children are expected to be born during the decade of 1970. Five million of them will die before they are one year old; 7.6 million will die before they are five. That means 12.6 million children, within one decade, will die before they are five years old.

"We then come to the question of hunger. Subsistence farming could at least produce enough food for the family, to insure better health for the children, but these women have not been taught to do anything. They have been bypassed by those who taught agriculture.

"And we all know how much the education of the child depends on the education of the mother, because in most countries it is the mother

who is responsible for the child's training. When 60 percent of the 800 million illiterates are women, we can expect to see illiteracy repeated, as is the case.

"So in spite of all our efforts over the past thirty years, the number of illiterates is growing, and what are these children going to become except unskilled laborers? How can we expect to solve the unemployment problem?

"All this is the situation today, but when we think that within the next 25 years the population will increase by 2,500 million, how can the developed countries imagine they will still be in a position to help the developing countries? The figures for India alone are that 2 million children are born every month; 24 million every year. That's more than 10 percent of the population of the United States being born every year, in a country which cannot provide enough food, health, or education even now.

"In any case, we have let it go until now. If we would have started to do something twenty years ago....But we need some help. We do not know what to do.

"My consolation at the moment, desperate as I feel, is the growing understanding of the situation among the governments, but especially among women in all countries, especially the developing countries. Our development aims will consequently begin to respond to their own needs.

"Women's development has been integrated into the so-called International Development Strategy. Partly it's due to the availability of money. All the United Nations organizations, even those which have never cared for women, have been studying the role of women in fields like industry, agriculture, sanitation engineering, and so on.

"A special regional plan for Africa is one of the best we have. It trains and pays people according to their needs, and it trains people in the skills which can respond to those needs. Asia is starting a similar program. Latin America, where the women have suffered a great deal because it is the home of machismo, is now embarked on a planning program which will include women.

"In conclusion, I would like to say that the women in all these

countries are determined. It's not as though we are pushing something they don't want."

Mr. Chafe: "I certainly agree that the problem is universal. But I question to what extent the response to that problem should presume a universality of consciousness. My central point was the question of cultural diversity, but there is also racial and economic diversity. I think one has to take into account where people are and what their realities are."

Jewell Cobb: On Being Black and Female

Choosing to address some of the issues raised in Ms. Michel's paper on future leadership needs, Ms. Cobb said that she would speak primarily from an American frame of reference, since America is what she knows best. And she added that as she is a black woman she is particularly aware of the minority problem which compounds the female problem.

Dual Exclusion Strategy

Ms. Cobb cited statistics to show the relative percentages of whites to blacks, and women to men in schools and colleges; the data show that black women have to compete harder than anyone else. Many schools and employers see it as an "either/or" process, she said, and will accept either a woman or a black. "It's the dual exclusion strategy."

Ms. Cobb noted that a striking phenomenon has been the alliance of women and minorities worldwide. They constitute 59 percent of the world's population. This is a tremendous potential resource pool from which to train people for future leadership needs, especially in the sciences where women are even more underrepresented than in other areas.

In the United States, the National Science Foundation has now allocated funding for women's programs which "is at least a start." But the money could not be given directly to women because that would conflict with the Civil Rights Act which states: "No subset of a population may receive money to the exclusion of any other subgroup." The problem was resolved by asking universities and other institutions to handle the women's programs themselves.

The three programs now in effect are, first, a role-model program in which a visiting woman scientist talks about her profession to students; second, a series of science career workshops; and third, a program for women who have been out of school for two to fifteen years and who want to take courses to prepare themselves for laboratory or research work.

Ms. Cobb told of a conference she had recently attended of thirty minority women scientists. The participants were native American women, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and blacks. All had very different backgrounds and early experiences but all were victims of the dual exclusion strategy. However, they all displayed a strong sense of self-worth which was instilled by their families and communities.

In general, the fewest problems had been experienced when these female minority scientists were young. They began by feeling victimized because of their race, and only later because of their sex. "The movement was from racism to sexism as they moved into the job market and into the ranks of upper leadership."

Male Dominance

"But," Ms. Cobb continued, "what in my view is the greatest problem is the male situation. As Andrée Michel said, women must be in the decision-making process and at this moment that chair is held by males. Governments are male-dominated. Liberal bodies are male-dominated. International organizations, economic industries, and graduate schools are male-dominated. Our challenge is to see how we can change this.

"Most of a male's early formative years are spent with women. But we do not seek power or influence then. We do not use what we have as a physical and psychological advantage."

Bucharest Conference

During the discussion following Ms. Cobb's remarks mention was made of the Bucharest Conference on Population. Ms. Sipila said she was ashamed when she saw the Third World Plan of Action presented there because it mentioned women only twice "without any recognition that women clearly have much to do with the population problem."

Margherita Rendel: Education for Leadership

"My paper is essentially in two parts: an analysis of the problems and then the remedies for them. I will make some comments on each part.

"One of the things that is not sufficiently discussed, certainly not in Britain and probably not in the U.S. and elsewhere, is the importance of sex-role stereotyping - in children's books, in research in the schools, in science textbooks and all the rest of it.

"Another problem is that there is a conflict between an educational system which makes a positive value out of the ability to choose and a society which perpetuates stereotypes. Schools should foster more expressive training for boys, as well as more scientific training for girls.

"Another issue worth thinking about is the educational problem of training the passive child. Child education centers often become boys' education centers because boys are assertive and girls are apt to sit quietly in a corner and escape detection. They do not constantly demand attention and are often overlooked.

"Later in life the problem is not dissimilar, because if women do not show an active interest in seeking promotion, for example, they too are often overlooked. "Initiative is the desirable quality in management; however, women who have agitated for better prospects, or promotion, or more equal treatment are branded as troublemakers. Many women are, in effect, punished for their success. They are often underpaid and resented by men. Women who have the will to achieve, and who have in fact accomplished something, are often attacked in a variety of devious and less than devious ways.

"Some of the things we seem to be looking for include dual roles for both sexes; sharing the burdens and the joys of the family. We're also looking for a cooperative rather than a competitive society. The question is whether it is possible to bring about such changes, and if so, how? We know that people do change their habits and ideas, sometimes even very rapidly. And often they change much more rapidly

than politicians give them credit for. Public opinion is often in advance of what it is assumed to be."

Importance of Legislation

Legislation is the sine qua non of change, Ms. Rendel said, but passing laws is not sufficient. "I do, however, think there is an interaction between law, and behavior, and attitudes; I think that law does influence behavior and that behavior does, in turn, modify attitudes.

"I do think that the implementation of a law requires support from special groups and that these groups have a part to play in a variety of ways.

"And I think that we can learn from each other, which is not the same as saying that one can pick up an institution from Country A and plunk it down in Country B."

Sex discrimination legislation, said Ms. Rendel, creates a legal equality between men and women in many situations where this has not previously existed. "In fact, in all legal systems men and women - especially married women - are treated very differently. This applies not only to family law, but quite often to criminal law, at least in Britain.

"Before passage of legislation which provides for equal treatment of men and women, you have a situation where the law is neutral. The law expresses no view and it is therefore possible for a state of inequality in the treatment of men and women to be lawful, and there is no remedy against that inequality. To state categorically that men and women should not be unequally treated completely changes the situation.

"But there is, of course, an enormous difference between legal rights and actual rights. This comes down to a problem of enforcement, and no amount of legislation will do much unless someone, somewhere, actually wants to enforce it. Normally, it is the victims who have got to do the enforcing."

1975 British Sex Discrimination Act

The 1975 British Sex Discrimination Act, said Ms. Rendel, was designed to be the most far-reaching single piece of legislation on this subject. It applies to education, to training, to employment, to the provision of goods and services and facilities, to partnerships and trade unions, and so on. (There are provisions which exempt voluntary bodies so that it's possible to continue women's groups as women's groups.)

But one of the effects of sex discrimination legislation is that it applies to men too, so that they may also have shopping days before Christmas and time out to take children to school.

Sections 47 and 48 of the British Act can be of very direct and immediate help for girls; to get their level of education and range of educational subjects up to a more equal level with that of boys and men. Schools and employers can run courses to compensate for deficient training in science and technology. But, she warned, "this might run into trade union opposition, since there's still an enormous difference between the policy declarations of union leaders and what actually happens on the shop floor."

The Act provides for investigations into alleged discrimination, and this function can be greatly assisted by the work of pressure groups within the relevant institutions. Parents, teachers, and employees can help tell investigators what is really going on inside the school or office. In Britain there are two institutions in which working parties have been set up to investigate the position of women, in one case with the support of the Administration and in the other case without it. "But the working party couldn't have been set up in either case without the Act."

Ms. Rendel finished up: "If I can draw up some general conclusions about legislation, the importance of a definition of discrimination seems fairly obvious. Legislation must also provide for individual remedies, and for the risk to which an employee is exposed in trying to pursue such remedies. It is important that there be adequate compensation

and adequate remedies because employers are not going to bother a great deal if the remedies are very low."

Discussion of Rendel Paper

Ms. Knowles led off the discussion: "I would agree that legislation is a necessary but not sufficient condition if social change is to succeed. The American experience is very instructive on that. Let me briefly run through the history of our statutes.

U.S. Sex Discrimination Legislation

"It is very nice to think of a statute as declarative of public policy, but unfortunately, the major American statute on sex discrimination, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, was not declarative of public policy. It was a joke.

"The Act was proposed at the height of the civil rights movement, and was originally written to prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of race and national origin. It was vigorously opposed by Southern senators who, in order to point out what they considered to be the absurdity of the Act added the word 'sex' as an amendment. To their surprise, the Act passed.

"It established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EOC) to act as the enforcing agency, which now also has powers to bring lawsuits and itself go into court. Instead of being flooded with racial discrimination complaints, which it expected, the EOC was overwhelmed with sex discrimination complaints.

"But an enormous burden is placed on women plaintiffs. Their personal and professional lives are put on the line, everything about them becomes public, and a case can often take years to resolve, during which time the woman is in limbo."

Before the law was extended in 1972 to include, among other things, educational institutions, these institutions were covered by a series of Executive Orders which forbade discrimination. It is in the Executive Orders that affirmative action was born, not in Title VII. "But affirmative action is a very complex problem, and out of 2000 pending

plans, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has approved only thirty."

Executive Orders as well as Title VII provide an exemption for BFOQs, or bona fide occupational qualifications. The example usually used is "If you want someone to play the role of Judy Garland in a movie about her life, it is clear that you may hire a woman for that role."

On the matter of remedies, the only one available under an Executive Order is the total withdrawal of federal funds. This affects universities most directly, and explains why most administrators are loathe to use it. "Women's groups should argue for an intermediate remedy, such as a cease and desist order, or an injunction."

Under Title VII there is a much wider range of available remedies, "even some very creative ones. But Title VII is one of the federal statutes which provide that the winner gets attorney's fees. That has led to a situation in which some less-than-scrupulous attorneys are not doing their plaintiffs much good, or are doing the lead plaintiff a lot of good, but in exchange for monumental fees."

In addition, there is not even a way to assure that attorneys will handle these cases, most of which are extremely difficult and lengthy. In a class action suit a women has to convince a federal judge that she can certify that the plaintiff represents more than just herself.

Mr. Maclure asked, "Is a class action another name for a test case or is there any corresponding thing to a class action in England?"

Ms. Rendel: "Yes there is. It's a representative action, a term also used in the United States. But in Great Britain it is very much more difficult to establish a representative action, as far as I can see, because the interest has got to be identical for the different members of the class. And since it is not possible to get damages under a representative action in Britain, we have tended to nothing about it at all."

Ms. Rendel also commented on lawyer's fees, noting that in Britain the normal rule is that the winning side pays both sides' fees. "This puts a great premium on not suing when you're damn surely going to win, unless of course, you're very rich. If you're very very poor you will probably get the fees paid by the legal aid system, but it's not certain. So there is a great incentive in Britain not to sue."

The exception to this, Ms. Rendel added, was in employment cases and equal practice cases which go to Industrial Tribunals which are not bound by the same rules of procedure as law courts. There's no formal system of costs, or what Americans call attorney's fees.

Ms. Knowles then continued her remarks - discussing Title IX of the Educational Amendment Act, which provides that no educational institution in any of its programs, elementary or secondary, may discriminate on the basis of sex. On the national and state level, she said, the law threw educational institutions into a state of trauma. But all it mandates is nondiscrimination, and requires that every institution or school system which receives federal money do a self-study. "But most schools hadn't a clue as to how to proceed with such a study - they were not even aware that there was a discrimination problem, and had no idea what questions to ask. If nothing else, the legislation has taught them how to do a self-study."

The next major legislation was the Equal Rights Amendment which has run into enormous problems, even though it sounds very simple. It says: "Equality of rights shall not be denied to any person, by the federal government or the states, on the basis of sex." It has not yet been ratified by enough states to make it an amendment to the Constitution.

Changing the subject to leadership, Ms. Knowles drew examples from women who hold traditional, institutionalized positions of authority in law schools. The number of women in law schools - students and faculty - is increasing.

Impact of Women on Law Schools

"The interesting question to me is what the impact will be when we have significant enough numbers within the law schools and the law teaching profession to really make a difference. Women have been brought up

with a clearly separate women's culture; thus we are already changing the law schools in important ways. One way is via the substance of what is taught. By that I mean not only the introduction of courses on women and the law, but by integrating materials on women into regular law school courses, which are the courses men attend too.

"For example, a study was done on criminal law case books which showed that the crimes most infrequently discussed were those of greatest interest to women - rape and prostitution. My women students won't stand for that anymore. My colleagues who teach torts are asked about inter-spousal immunity. The ones who teach property are asked about the discriminatory effects of the property laws in Alabama.

"The question is whether the women students who will be lawyers will significantly influence the legal system. I don't know the answer, but it is an important question."

Alternatives to Legislation

The subject changed to alternatives to federal legislation for coping with sex discrimination. One participant said that the American Association of University Professors has a long history of dealing with discrimination problems in higher education. The Assignments Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure has been the mechanism through which cases have been handled. Sex discrimination, political discrimination, and racial discrimination are all handled through the same committee.

Another alternative to federal legislation comes as a consequence of the collective bargaining movement within higher education in the United States, an outgrowth of the trade union movement.

Ms. Cobb raised a question which is just beginning to be a problematic one in America, the confluence of affirmative action and seniority in jobs. In most cases seniority has been winning. The problem becomes most noticeable during recessions and in times of teacher cutbacks and economic difficulties. Seniority eliminates women almost automatically, and most minorities as well.

Ms. Sipila: Political Decisions, Legal Systems

"I would like to begin my comments by noting certain areas in which

men are predominant and women are missing, and I think the clearest example is in the area where the most far-reaching decisions in the world are made - in the political field and in administration. And this is as true at the local level as it is at the national and international levels.

"Women are also missing in most organizations, some of which play very important decision-making roles. Trade unions, for example, which are recognized pressure groups, have almost no women in leadership positions. Many organizations which are extremely efficient in various fields in trying to solve the world's problems have very few women, and the fewer there are in mixed groups, the less we get women's interests pursued. We find women in leadership roles in women's organizations, but very few in mixed groups.

"The third category is the professions, which is mostly what we've been dealing with here.

"Why are women missing, especially in the political field? I think it's first and foremost because women were given political rights so recently that we are all newcomers in the field and haven't really gained the experience we need. Let us remember that the first women to gain political rights in the whole world - and only voting rights at that - were the women in New Zealand in 1893. Next came Australia in 1903, and the third was Finland in 1906. Where Finland was different from the others was that women were not only given voting rights, they were also given eligibility to Parliament. Finnish women were the first in the world to exercise political power at the national level. The percentage of women in the Finnish Parliament has never been less than 5 percent, and in the last ten years it has increased to 23 percent.

"One of the discussion papers mentioned the constraints which give women very different status from men in the civil law. These inequalities have been built into the legal systems of most countries of the world.

"The Code Napoleon, for example, has affected women in West European and Latin American countries. In the Nordic countries, until family laws were passed in the 1920s and 30s, married women didn't even

have their own legal capacity. It amazes me to think that in many countries, even today, women cannot open a bank account or sign an employment contract without their husband's permission. How can they, then, become candidates for Parliament unless their husbands totally agree?

"So I think the civil law is terribly important. But as important as the law is knowledge of its contents. Most women are not at all familiar with their rights, even though they have been written about in books and magazines."

Family Law

"One day I will write a book on the mystery of marriage. At least in Finland, marriage seems to mean that women suddenly become inferior, in spite of all their rights under the law. It seems to be the man who is usually the knowledgeable one in all economic affairs, so that women sometimes agree to their own suicide when they sign contracts proposed by their spouses. These can include property arrangements, and investments, and income used for daily consumption. So the knowledge of rights is extremely important.

"One must also mention women's extremely passive attitude; the fact that they just accept things. If all women refused to be the only ones responsible for the family, and if all men refused to be the only ones responsible for society, then we could begin to have real progress, sharing both rights and opportunities.

"But women until now have lacked bargaining power. We have been extremely heterogeneous all around the world - there are rich women, poor women, educated and illiterate women, women who have opportunities and women who have no choice. I think it is because we have not been in a position to organize ourselves that even as we have been gaining more rights, we have not been getting anywhere."

U.N. Women's Programs

"There are many similarities between women in Nordic countries and women in Eastern European countries in terms of their political participation. At the international level there is very little participation,

something which is evident from studying the United Nations' own activities. At the first General Assembly 3.5 percent of the delegates were women; at the 1974 Assembly the figure was 7.6 percent. This seems to show that it will be another three hundred years before women represent their countries on equal terms with men. And of course the same underrepresentation can be seen in the Security Council and elsewhere.

"Now, what have we tried to do to train women and increase their opportunities? First let's look at legal means.

"Thanks to Latin American women, the League of Nations as early as 1923 set up the first intergovernmental commission to study sex discrimination - the Inter-American Commission of Women. It's also thanks to Latin American women, and to some extent to Eleanor Roosevelt, that sex was mentioned in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter.

"In 1946 the United Nations formed the Commission on the Status of Women, to study the women's situation all over the world and to propose legislation to bring about equality and nondiscrimination.

"The 1967 Declaration on the Discrimination of Women was one of the most important steps forward. The Commission is trying to recommend a convention to cover all the points in the Declaration: it would lead to an agreement in which all participating countries would agree to eliminate discrimination in all fields - employment, education, family law, political participation, and so on.

"There are already certain conventions, like the Political Rights Convention, which was one of the first to be adopted by the United Nations in 1952. It grants political rights to women and has been a most effective means of including women as political decision-makers, at least in theory. Of course there are still some countries where women do not have political rights. And in four countries men don't have them either, so there is no discrimination.

"Even in some of the countries where women do not have political rights, there may nonetheless be some very powerful women. It amazed me, when I was in Kuwait last year, to see women in high ranking positions on their own planning boards. And thanks to one of these women, who

doesn't even have voting rights, the United Nations Development Programme now stipulates that all its resident representatives in developing countries must study every project from the point of view of women, both as beneficiaries and as participants.

"When the UN is accused of not doing enough, I usually tell people that according to our Charter we cannot interfere in any country's internal affairs. We cannot change laws. We cannot elect people to decision-making bodies or appoint them to administrative positions. We cannot change educational systems or influence health services. We cannot create job opportunities. It's only the nationals who can do those things.

"And then my question is, why don't the women at the national level request it? It's because they have hardly known what the situation in the country is. They have hardly known the criteria according to which the status of women should be measured. What are the social indicators to be used? In spite of all the research that has been done, there are no indicators which would be valid all over the world.

"There is the question of lack of education in many countries. There is the lack of economic opportunities. Those who have economic power, whether male or female, can pursue whatever course they wish. In the Philippines, for example, women have always been the holders of the purse, and they can decide what they want. Not that they have wanted political power - but at least they do have economic power.

"Women's organizations have existed for many years in many countries and they have all paid lip-service to the status of women. But most of them don't know what they're talking about because they do not know how the discrimination starts or what the components of equality are.

"The International Women's Year has given national groups an enormous boost. In all parts of the world, national commissions have gotten together to begin studying the constraints in law and practice which in some way prevent equality from being achieved.

"The Plan of Action adopted in Mexico last year is the first document which recommends action at regional, national, and international levels. The United Nations General Assembly has declared 1975 to 1985 a decade of women, and the Plan of Action is to be implemented during

this decade. In addition, I see a completely new commitment among United Nations organizations. We are drafting an interagency program to concentrate rather than duplicate our efforts to help governments with their planning. There is a new motivation among statisticians to include women in their data; there is a new interest among research institutes and universities to analyze the data. They are eager to find out not only what is good for women, but to what extent the situation of women affects the whole range of problems in the world.

"There may even be changes in the priorities of United Nations activities. During its first period the UN was very much a peacemaking and peacekeeping organization. Then it became concerned with economic activities. Now it has become more social and humanitarian; for unless economists and those concerned with inflation and energy and industrialization realize that most problems start at the human, micro level, they won't be able to solve them.

"I will finish by saying a word on the issue of leadership. Clearly, some people are born with a natural ability to lead, but that ability is also something which can be acquired through training. Boys receive such training through athletics and Boy Scouts and the military services. Women have to be given more opportunities to be imaginative and innovative in situations of responsibility, to develop self-reliance."

Jane Allen: "I would like to make one point about the United States' participation in the United Nations' convention on women - the U.S. has not ratified one of the four conventions. Margaret White, of the U.S. Mission to the UN, bemoaned that fact, especially since the conventions only grant political rights which American women already have. The rationale for the American position was that a lot of the countries which ratified the conventions were not serious about carrying them out."

Elizabeth Janeway: Four Questions

"I've been thrashing around all week trying to discover what questions come up that need to be more thoroughly addressed, and also what questions need to be addressed that haven't come up.

"It seems to me that we have not really been discussing the ways in which colleges and universities can train women for leadership as much as the way in which new social roles, including access to and exercise of leadership, can be opened up to women with the aid of educational institutions. We have also talked about how this will affect the currently male-centered educational establishment, and beyond that, men in general. What I mean is that the impetus seems to be coming from outside the colleges and universities. This may be a time for widening the context of education, both its function and its purposes.

"The fact that we are still defining leadership and still trying to reach some conclusions about how to value individual achievement, suggests that we aren't sure what should be taught if we are attempting to train women in new ways.

"I have some further questions also. The first: Is it enough to bring women into the current educational process or do we have to change the curriculum in some way - i.e., the introduction of more women's studies, for example. How much is done directly, and how much indirectly, by the presence of women in classes, in jobs, in professions where they haven't been seen before?

"My second question: Should we be concerned with actually teaching men - in contradistinction to giving them the opportunity to learn? There is a great deal of passive male anger at the women's movement which can easily be brought to bear against women's progress. How can we deal with this? Women tend to act like mothers toward men - to comfort, heal, take over, and assure them everything will be all right. I think we should invite men to see us as members of the same species, with very much the same capabilities as they themselves have.

"My third question is: What are the obligations of women to other women in the Third and Fourth Worlds, and how do we implement them? I think that we must tread very carefully in any approach beyond our own boundaries.

"My last question is: Should we try and find out more about what we think are the proper uses of power? Can we learn something from the experiences of 'token women' as they cope with their success?

"One of the things that has become clear in the struggle over the Equal Rights Amendment, for example, is that there is a great deal of ambivalence about who women are and who they want to be. The women who oppose the ERA say it would destroy many amenities of life and that they enjoy their traditional role. The question is, how do we reach these women, or should we even try to reach them?

"If we could find sources of ego strength which lie outside the gender role, and even outside the work role, these women would have less to fear. This doesn't involve education or vocational training, but rather an enrichment of life."

Discussion of Janeway Paper

Ms. Westman-Berg commented on Ms. Janeway's first question, dealing with the educational curriculum, by citing instances in which her own students were outraged when they learned how biased the standard course books were, omitting references even to outstanding women. "It seems as if it is sufficient to study the male of the human species; he represents both sexes. That's the picture they get from what they study."

Ms. Knowles said that a successful women's studies program had been established at the University of Alabama which offered specific courses with a focus on women, such as "Women in Southern Literature" and "Women and the Law." But the difficult part, she conceded, was to get the feminist perspective into the standard curricula. Ms. Rendel added that what had been happening in Britain was that women who had taken separate women's courses often returned to mixed classes "and have been posing questions, and demanding answers, which the regular, established teachers of those subjects have not been able to answer - questions which are cutting away at the basis of established male scholarship."

In addition to the specially labeled women's studies, Ms. Rossi thought that what was at least as important was "to think of ways to increase the flow of women into math and science, to make a pre-med program, for example, more attractive to them." Little girls learn early that math and science are for boys, she said. Girls are not

given the same opportunities to express themselves in these areas or to develop their natural abilities. And this effectively eliminates them from science, from technological fields, from economics and government, and from areas where even simple math is required.

Mr. Katz noted that one thing which ought to be on the agenda is to get more men involved in women's programs, both as teachers and as students.

Ms. Sipila added that it is clear from the statistics of various countries, especially those with centrally planned economies, that women will go into whichever professions they are given incentives to enter. In the Soviet Union, for example, over 90 percent of the engineers are women, whereas the figure for Finland is about 7 percent. Several participants addressed this point, noting that the number of female doctors in the Soviet Union has long exceeded that of Western countries. This has stemmed from two distinct causes: one, in the immediate post-World War II period there was a sex ratio imbalance of 22 million more women than men; and two, the U.S.S.R.'s tremendous health needs after the war prompted the government to make medical education as attractive as possible to women.

The Soviet culture generally is more geared to women in "hard" professions because it is often the role of the female to make the difficult decisions, even in family situations.

On Teaching History

Mr. Colton: "Just a word or two on the teaching of history. It is a very complex subject - the whole study of human affairs. And so much of human affairs has been political. So much of it has involved elitist people making decisions in high places. And these people generally have been male.

"I think it would be wrong to exclude that political reality from the study of history. Which is not to say that there should be just one way to approach the subject.

"Second, I would like to say that there as been a significant change in the whole profession. There's a much greater emphasis on what we call working class history, on social history, and on the

history of the family. It may be that the history of women needs the kind of catalyst that comes from courses organized by women professors, or by male professors who have specialized in the history of women. Sometimes a course in black history is first taught best by a black professor. Something of the course or the ideas carry over to other parts of the curriculum, and all these other parts are enriched by it."

Women's Studies Research Center

Various proposals were put forward as to how the research on women's studies could best be collected, analyzed, and discussed. Ms. Sipila mentioned that an Iranian participant at the Mexico conference had pledged one million dollars to the establishment of an international institute on training and research for the advancement of women. The institute would centralize all information on women's studies, and would become a worldwide university and a research center. Ideally it would be located in a developing country.

The discussion then moved on to Ms. Janeway's second question: Should we be concerned with teaching men new attitudes, or is it enough to give them the opportunity to learn? This raised subsidiary questions about how to deal with their natural angers, and how women might learn to abandon the mother role when they speak of men vis-à-vis the women's movement.

One participant recalled a teaching experience at Harvard in which several male students were very favorably impressed with the scholarship of the female assistant professor. "We've talked a great deal about the importance of role models for women, but it struck me that many of the young men in that community had not since the first grade really observed a woman in command of information or in a position of academic power. If men do not have such an experience they will find it very hard to relate to women as colleagues or, even more difficult to work for a woman later on."

Subsequent comments touched on the separation of the sexes - perceptual and actual - in various cultures. Studies have shown, for example, that in several countries and several cultures there is virtually a

second language for women, including intonation and delivery. In Japan there is a so-called "market language" which is used exclusively by women. A male is kept from using this language and consequently is unable to do the marketing - there is simply no way for him to express his needs.

In Finland the third person singular is always "he" or "him"; there is no female version at all.

Mr. Chafe said that men often have great difficulty expressing themselves about the experience of being male. "Men are not socialized to be expressive and are not comfortable with it."

Male Anger

Elizabeth Cless then focused the discussion on the question of male anger and how to deal with it.

Ms. Rendel said that the phrase "natural male anger," which has become a rather common term, is really somewhat misleading. "It suggests something inherent, something which one should accept as having a certain value of its own, and I'm not sure that it has."

Ms. Janeway: "Anger is natural to anyone who is having a role change. When women begin thinking differently about who they are, and whether they want to continue a relationship, it can be quite puzzling, irritating, and frightening to a man. The re-evaluation does not come at his initiative; he doesn't quite understand what the woman is doing nor what he himself should be doing. So he's a bit adrift in the world, and it seems that this does create an anger which is natural."

Mr. Colton: "I worry a little about the notion that the mere presence of women will change things, either in the teaching of various subjects or in the making of a better society. The mere presence of Indira Gandhi in India did not lead India to solve its problems more effectively."

Ms. Horner: "One of the things we have to be careful of is that we don't categorize women as though they were one sort of individual."

Mr. Maclure: "May I just ask why, when you say that, you spend your time categorizing men as if they were one?"

Ms. Horner: "I was going to say that there are more intragroup differences than there may be intergroup differences between men and women."

Dr. Gallaher returned to the question of male anger, saying, "Anger is the one emotion that men are taught it is permissible to display. So even if a man is frightened or hurt, he will get angry because that's the only emotion he's not ashamed to show."

Ms. Cless then turned to Ms. Janeway's third question: What are the obligations of Western women toward women in the Third and Fourth Worlds, and how can the obligations be implemented?

Ms. Sipila read from a book by Professor Elise Baudin in which she wrote that the role of woman as breeder, feeder, and producer was somehow overlooked by planners, and women in the developing countries have themselves done little to correct this omission. "It is up to women in the First World to help them, but they too often suffer from an incomplete global perspective. Partnership with our sisters in the Third World can be created by women's groups everywhere. And as partners, we can set directions and priorities for world betterment."

Mr. Katz wondered what kinds of obligations were specifically women's obligations, and received a number of diverse answers: most technical aid which goes to Third and Fourth World countries goes to men in those countries; birth control methods which are in widespread use in the Western countries have still to be introduced in many parts of the developing world; vocational training for women is almost nil in many regions.

Future Training Needs

Mr. Katz recognized that certain kinds of work can best be done by women because they are often better able to communicate with other women. "For specific jobs, then, it is better to train women. But other things ought to be put in terms of general human concerns."

Ms. Michel remarked that even though about 95 percent of the Western experts which France sends to Algeria are men, the Algerians are just as happy to have women, as long as they are competent. "What

they want is expertise and they don't care which gender provides it. By sending only men, the sexist model is imported to Africa."

Ms. Murray: "I think we have been confusing vocational, or technical training with higher education and university training. Education must be kept broad enough so that it is flexible: technological training should be short-term, so that someone who is trained to be a hydrologist can easily be re-trained when another priority arises."

Dr. Gallaher cautioned against exporting the American way of doing things when the American way is often unsuited to other cultures. The consensus was that the two things to be avoided in dealing with the Third and Fourth Worlds are cultural imperialism and sexism.

Ms. Knowles referred to Mr. Chafe's idea that the technical assistance component of U.S. aid programs be examined in terms of sexism, and be accompanied by an impact statement on how it will affect women. "The problem with this, however, is that the United States would be exporting a movement which is not even universally accepted in its own country, and thrusting it forward as a condition of aid." Everyone agreed that it would be a very delicate matter, at best, to deny funding to a developing country because its plans did not directly improve the status of women.

Ms. Cless then turned to Ms. Janeway's fourth question: What do we mean by leadership and how do we want to use power?

Ms. Rendel: "Men are often pushed into positions of leadership they don't even want, and women prevented from attaining these positions even when they want them very much. The fact that fewer women aspire to leadership positions is a result of being socialized to lower their aspirations. But liberation cannot be taught; it is something which you do for yourself.

"The most that anybody can do from outside is to help people to help themselves: to help provide the circumstances, the knowledge, and the self-confidence."

She remarked that British trade unions have taken on an educational role; organizing women to secure proper negotiations and job valuations. "Many of these social policy issues can be dealt with by institutional

means and legislation can be passed to support this sort of work."

In the discussion which followed, emphasis was on helping women "liberate" themselves. One observation was that women are usually more progress-oriented than goal-oriented, that they generally have a variety of interests, as opposed to men who are often completely dedicated to a single professional goal. Women are usually more interested in what is going on around them locally than they are in broad overviews. All these things might provide clues as to the areas in which women should seek leadership, and the ways in which they might apply their power.

Ms. Rendel: "If we are agreed that this diversification of interests is more characteristic of women than of men, and we are agreed that it is one of the good things of the women's culture that we wish to retain, then we must try to change the reward structure of society which presently favors pursuit of one activity."

Diversification of Interests

Ms. Janeway: "There are dangers and stresses for women who are changing their own roles and who often feel this as a loss of identity - loss of an old self with whom they were familiar.

"The question becomes: What sources of identification, or identity, are open to us once we get over the barrier of sex discrimination? Once we are past that, what do our vocations mean to us; what other connections with life seep into the self, and strengthen or weaken it?

"This is not a plea to ignore the discrimination that is part of our lives, but a question as to what else we want to do besides fight it. This is not a protest against anger or negativism. I believe anger can be justified. It's a protest against the fragmentation that cuts us off, in anger or protest, from other areas that can bring psychic rewards."

Ms. Rendel: "Simply in terms of efficiency, we need diversification - people need to move from one thing to another. Any responsible job involves a diversification of abilities and interests. Therefore,

simply in the interest of carrying out our work more efficiently and satisfactorily, shouldn't we encourage diversification of interests? And when we select candidates for jobs, shouldn't we look at whether they have shown a diversity of interests in their lives as opposed to concentration on a single activity?"

In the comments which followed, it was commonly acknowledged that a woman's diversity of interests stems partially from being directed toward all the things that men want and appreciate; that to a large extent women make life possible for the people around them. Much of what women do is done because others - mothers, fathers, brothers, husbands, children - want them to do it; it belongs to the women's culture to make sacrifices for these people.

Ms. Horner pointed out that, realistically, one must regard some of the effects of the women's movement as negative and self-limiting. For example, the fear of family disruption and social rejection may well prevent some women from pursuing goals they would like to achieve. Some fears of change may be irrelevant and some irrational but some are very real. "There has to be some kind of cost/benefit calculation to see if the necessary trade-offs are worth it."

Ms. Janeway thought maybe women were being conned, "being told that power currupts and isn't all it's supposed to be, just so that they don't come on asking for it."

Ms. Knowles: "When we talk about women's culture, it ought to be clear that proof of its existence does not depend on the participation of every single member of the female sex. That is the first caveat.

"The second is that it is often difficult to distinguish between those parts of the women's culture which are biologically ordained and those which are due to socialization. What is true in any case is that there is a premium on expressive values, as opposed to the instrumental use of other people."

Varieties of Power

Ms. Cobb asked about contemporary societies in which women are in power. The responses provided different definitions of power and

different examples. In Burma, it seems, women have economic power but the economy is not a prestigious area; religion is. In southern Italy women have enormous power in a psychological sense. Ms. Horner wondered what role higher education has, as a route to various kinds of power and prestige. She suggested that perhaps the more advanced a society, the more important universities become as the means to all power - economic, political, and intellectual.

Matina Horner: Agenda for 1976-1986 - Recommendations and Alternatives

Ms. Horner: "We have shied away from too many prognostications, which is probably a credit to our understanding of the complexity of the issues with which we are dealing.

"The last Bellagio conference on women followed a relatively long period during which women, especially in America, were absent from the work force. Considerable effort was directed to their re-entry, and to how the educational system might help to accomplish that.

"This conference comes closely on the heels of a relatively short period of rapid social and economic change, and the massive re-involvement of women in the work force. Our major problem now, at least in the industrialized countries, is to get women into the higher level positions from which they are still eliminated.

"I think that as a group, we share an awareness that we can't go on ravaging our natural resources and we realize the terrible consequences of ravaging our human resources in the Third World.

"Each of us has called for a re-evaluation of the respective status of men and women in our society, and for a more meaningful and equitable balance in their respective roles. We have aspired to a more androgynous society in the future, one which would capture the best aspects of male and female culture, although we've had some difficulty in defining exactly what a female culture, as distinct from a male culture, really is.

"We have recognized repeatedly that this is more easily said than done. Yet we recognize that one of the best means of becoming more completely human lies in adopting, and I quote, 'a principle of

perfect equality between the sexes, which would allow no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other, simply as a function of sex.' This certainly takes us a long way from the Aristotelian notion of the limited capacities of women and the unlimited capacities of men that have so restricted women's creativity.

"I think it's also important to note that we've gone beyond simply saying that we want women to have equal opportunity with men; that we are in fact asking for something more - namely the changing of roles for both men and women. That's a very different kind of emphasis than in the past."

Ms. Horner commented that one of the important issues raised at the conference was the desire to change the process whereby normative values become prescriptive. "Educational institutions and legislatures which now reflect and confirm existing inequalities ought rather to challenge them, to adopt a proactive rather than a reactive stance."

The so-called "nature of women" is an eminently artificial thing, Ms. Horner pointed out, the result of forced repression in some directions and unnatural stimulation in others. And she added that the same seems to be true of men, "that essentially, at least in American society, we repress the affective and expressive component of male behavior and emphasize the competitive aspects.

"Many of us really believe that men and women have the potential for the development and expression of both these aspects of their personalities but our socialization experience doesn't bring them out equally."

Ms. Horner went on to talk about the functional significance of children in our society, and that society has made it difficult for a woman to combine a family and a career. "There are a great many pressures on women which lead to the decision to have children and thus make it difficult or impossible to pursue a career.

"One of the major questions is whether or not society will have the courage, and be willing to make the bold and innovative moves that are needed, to find alternatives - alternative patterns of work and family life - for which there may be no historical precedents."

Essentially, Ms. Horner said, we're asking for ways to make the productive patterns of society compatible with the personal patterns. "And the rapidity of change means that we may no longer have the luxury of time to learn from our mistakes. We will have to anticipate the consequences of some of our decisions, technological and otherwise, and develop the kinds of skills essential for foresight."

Joel Colton followed with some observations about the conference: "The relationship of the women's culture to nonprofessional women wasn't touched on sufficiently; do jobs necessarily provide the satisfaction and ego strength that women are seeking? I think some damage was done to countless middle-class women in the United States when Betty Friedan's book first came out. Middle-class women were urged to get out of the home. It didn't matter what they did, and very often they got into jobs that were not very satisfying. To be a secretary or a typist, to be a clerk or a salesperson, is not necessarily more satisfying than staying home and taking advantage of some of the opportunities one might have there.

"Related to this is the question of voluntarism. In a city like New York, where many of the cultural institutions have been hit by a budgetary crisis, a call has gone out for volunteers. Yet intelligent women are uneasy about serving as volunteers in a museum or library, perhaps because they think they are displacing other women.

"I'm glad we tried to work out a compromise on the relationship of men and women from the industrialized societies to the women of the Third World. We talked a lot about questions of changing lifestyles, of men sharing household duties and sharing child-rearing. If you go to an extreme and say that this is something men have been deprived of, it becomes more difficult for them to accept, even though this is obviously a creative undertaking.

"I think, too, that a very critical question is the question of the single-sex school. Is it the better way of preparing women for their new lifestyle? Or is it an artificial way?

"I would conclude by saying that the unpredictable plays a very, very important part in life, both in human relations and in social

change. I think some of the rational approaches we have discussed and the kind of positive action that we know we must have, may not be the preponderant factors in the social change that will take place.

"I recognize that the question of values is what we have all been concerned with here - inherent value; the inherent dignity and worth of the individual, whether male or female, and the opening up of sources of creativity that our society desperately needs. These are the things I come away with from this conference, and much more enlightened."

Ms. Horner then continued her presentation noting that during the second half of the 19th century, when industrialization was in full bloom, certain changes in the lifestyle and status of women were made necessary by new economic developments. "Women's roles have historically fluctuated with economic needs, making a virtue of necessity."

"In the 1950s and 60s, for example, men emerged as the sole participants in the economic life of the community; the comfort of a wife and children at home were both the incentive and the emotional reward of a man's achievement. If the wife had to work, it was a sign of the man's failure, a negative credit against his manhood. American life was increasingly separated into a male sphere and a female sphere, with one more valuable than the other and no thought given to mutual relationships.

"The women who had this life of leisure imposed on them became frustrated and restless and many looked to education as a means of redressing these wrongs. At the same time many colleges faced financial difficulties, and in a daring and desperate measure, opened their doors to women for the first time. Coeducation saved some previously all male colleges from financial disaster."

Ms. Horner pointed out that earlier in the century, when some schools began to admit women, "the result was a strengthening of the sense of women's maternal and marital responsibilities." She wondered whether that same sense would again be strengthened by coeducation.

"The fact remains, however, that women who have achieved positions

of leadership have come primarily from the single-sex institutions. There are arguments that women develop the capacity for leadership when they don't have to worry about being second class citizens, as they would in a coeducational university. Or that women can establish greater self-confidence in a single-sex institution; or that more is expected of them and that they meet these expectations."

SOCIAL TRENDS AND WOMEN'S LIVES - 1965 to 1985

Alice S. Rossi

Abstract

Only twelve years ago (i.e., at the time of the 1965 Bellagio conference) there was a general assumption that the post-World War II patterns in women's lives would continue - a pattern which involved the interruption of schooling by early marriage and a long withdrawal from the labor market for the bearing and rearing of children. Women were seen - by themselves as well as by men - as essentially service-oriented, passive, "pawnlike." What researchers failed to take into account, says the author, was that the models on which they based their prediction were taken from a relatively slow period of social change. In the decade from 1965 to 1975, in which change has been surprisingly rapid, women became far more active on their own behalf than had been foreseen ("the most important impact of the feminist movement," in Ms. Rossi's opinion). In the United States there has been a shift, small but measurable, toward increased authority, responsibility, and autonomy on the part of women. (Some of Ms. Rossi's examples: an increase in the proportion of women attaining the doctorate degree; a move away from sex-linked career choices on the part of the youngest women, namely, entering college freshmen; and a reduction in the fertility rate and average family size.) In the near future, Ms. Rossi predicts, this trend will continue - with some manifestations such as a continuation of lower fertility rates and higher divorce rates than in the past, coupled with the increased labor force participation of women and, possibly, greater flexibility as regards hours of work, days of work, time spent at home, and so on.

* * *

Introduction

Like the rest of the participants at the 1976 Bellagio conference, I received a copy of the McIntosh report on the (first) 1965 Bellagio conference on women's education. Unlike all but two of you, however, reading the report again after ten years brought back a rush of professional and personal memories of that earlier occasion. The 1965 report provided a good anchor point against which to assess the changes that have taken place in this past decade - in the world at large, in the lives of women, and in the problems confronting higher education.

A chronological framework seemed like an appropriate way to organize my paper. The first section concentrates on 1965 and sketches what I see as the major foci and limitations of the first Bellagio conference, as one can assess them a decade later. The second section sketches the most important developments during the decade between 1965 and 1976, as they bear upon the lives of women, their place in higher education, and the consequences of their education for their subsequent lives. I must beg your indulgence if I lean heavily for this section on American developments and American data, for my own research and political involvements have been largely restricted to the American scene. It will be of great interest to learn in what respects trends in European countries have paralleled or differed from the American in this period. In the third section I shall discuss a few factors that, directly or indirectly, will affect the lives of educated women in the decade ahead.

Although we have been encouraged to allow our discussions to be wide-roaming and speculative at this conference, I feel a responsibility as a sociologist close to empirical material on women in higher education and the economy, to provide a firm base in fact, from which we may take off to more speculative issues in our discussions. Hence the paper will present and assess empirical data relevant to our discussion and should be viewed as a springboard for comparison with European societies, and then to interpretations and proposals concerning the future of women's education.

Bellagio 1965

Any looking backward to an earlier experience necessarily involves selective recall and a reconstruction of the past in the light of intervening experience. It is well to make this point as an introduction to an assessment of the 1965 Bellagio conference, for I am aware of the impact of my own experiences in the intervening decade upon my current assessment. It may be that what I select as salient will differ from what other participants would give, and perhaps Ms. Cless and Ms. Murray will wish to compare my account against their own.

It is relevant to cite two aspects of the past decade that have been influential to my current perspective on the past. Within a year of the earlier Bellagio conference, I plunged into a decade of involvement as an activist in the American feminist movement, the highlights of which were: serving as a founding organizer of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966; an organizer of the first women's caucus in a professional association; and the national chairperson of Committee W on the Status of Women in Academe of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), a committee once chaired by John Dewey in the 1920s but only reactivated 45 years later, in 1971.

My professional life has been closely related to my political life, since my areas of scholarly interest have been in family sociology, human sexuality, occupational choice, and gender roles. This was one respect in which my perspective differed from other Bellagio participants in 1965. A second was that I was one of only two women whose professional life was primarily as an academic teacher and scholar. All the English participants were, at the time, occupying key positions as administrative heads of colleges; on the American side, three were college presidents; two, administrators of special programs in higher education; two, foundation officers; one, a college trustee. Only Hannah Gray and myself were then primarily practicing teacher/scholars, and, interestingly, she has since moved on to administrative positions, first at Northwestern and now at Yale.

The 1965 conference participants necessarily devoted a good deal of time acquainting themselves with the differences in the structure of higher education in the two countries. I think it fair to say that the Americans were most impressed by the British system for its efficient, national application/admission process, the extent of financial support to students (covering as it does both tuition and maintenance), and the stress on one-to-one tutorial relationships; while the English seemed most impressed by the sheer size and scope of American higher education, the considerably higher proportion of women students in the American system, and the diversity of the curriculum. This was an exaggerated contrast, perhaps, for the English participants were exclusively drawn from the older British universities rather than the new ones, while the Americans spoke from experience in the then-rapidly expanding sector of public higher education, as well as the older, private institutions.

Substantively, our focus was heavily on enrollment trends, the administrative organization of higher education, degree requirements, and the occupational utilization of women in the two countries. Much discussion went to the changing profile of employed women in the two societies, and the need for flexibility to facilitate the retraining of women as they planned a return to employment, following a considerable period of time rearing children. For the most part, there was an implicit acceptance of the post-World War II pattern that had emerged, which involved an interruption of schooling by early marriage, a long withdrawal for the bearing and rearing of several children, and the need for part-time jobs so that family responsibilities could be combined with employment.

There also seemed to be an implicit image of women held by most of the conference participants: they themselves had been vigorous leaders of their generation who had not put their own unique talents on a shelf for a decade or more of child-rearing and homemaking. They had "made it" to the top or close to the top, in a man's world which they accepted for the most part, and sought only some accommodations in that system to make things easier for women less dedicated or

driven than themselves. "Other" women, which meant the majority of women in the two countries, were seen as essentially service-oriented in all spheres of their lives: toward their families, in their choice of occupation - heavily concentrated in teaching, nursing, social work - and in their community participation. The English spoke of their women students' passionate concern for famine abroad, and the Americans of their women students' equally passionate concern for the civil rights of southern blacks.

Another element in the image was of general passivity in women as a class. One had to do things for them: provide continuing education, make it possible for them to be part-time students and workers, expose them to talented women to serve as mentors and to stimulate a rise in their aspirations, and urge more job opportunities for the wives of men in the same employing institution. This passive quality is symbolized by the view expressed by two participants, who objected to any emphasis on "women qua women." This meant an exclusion from our agenda of any attention to political organization or political demands by women for women. We would encourage our women students, but walk softly in the corridors of the male world we had access to.

Nor did we raise any hard questions about the relationship between manpower needs in the larger society and the then-popular emphasis on women as a last remaining resource for trained professional and technical personnel. Neither did we look into the future to assess the likelihood of a continuing expansion of either higher education, or the professional and technical fields for which higher degrees were assumed to be the proper credentials. Had we done so, we might have raised some serious questions about the employment prospects for women in light of their heavy concentration in the teaching fields, and their poor showing in the expanding technical fields.

In short, we shared the assumptions common at the time in both societies, that universities were and would continue to be one of the centers of power. This in turn was based on theories popular at the time about the evolution of modern societies toward accelerating technological innovation, sustained economic growth, a largely

crisis-free internal social and political order, and increasing approximation to the good life through social mobility for anyone with talent and motivation (Berger 1975).

Our theories were derived from the common intellectual heritage of Marx, Durkheim, Weber, and Freud; we did not appreciate then the limitation of theories developed at an early stage of modern economic development for societies in the throes of a transition from advanced to post-industrial development. All of this led to the easy prediction that all modern industrial societies were traveling along a path which the United States had already traveled, so that the most important thing to know about a European society was how close or how far it was from the American model.

At the Bellagio conference in 1965, I think we shared the expectation that despite some minor differences between British and American higher education, the British system, and increasingly British women, would follow the lead of the American pattern - i.e., large-scale higher education for increasing proportions of young men and women. That we assumed there would be increasing numbers of young people is an indication of our neglect of the impact of fertility trends in one decade for college enrollment and women's employment two decades later.

In sum, we were insular in our concentration on the inner workings of colleges and universities; we had no theories about the position of women in family and occupational systems; and we had no preparation for the impact of external political and international events on campus life and the aspirations of women in our societies.

I do not mean to exempt myself from the implicit charge of tunnel vision in this assessment. I was struggling at the time with the implications of my own preliminary research findings on women college graduates. If you have read the summary profile provided in the appendix to the 1965 report, you will recall that women were indeed far more domestic in their basic value orientations than men; children, home, and kin were of overwhelming importance to them, displacing concern for their own independent careers into second place.

They were largely moving into a sex-linked occupational system with the very service orientation I noted above. A very small proportion were headed for advanced degrees.

In the analysis of these data in the years after the Bellagio conference, I found weak but significant relationships between early family influences and later adult goal orientations, which carried the message that change in women's orientations would be a very slow process indeed. My basic theory was that serious career goals emerged among women only if there was a vacuum in their adolescent years such that marriage and family were not considered possible, desirable, or primary as goal priorities. Thus, in one chain of interrelated events, a woman who grew up in a household with marital friction between her parents, dissatisfaction on the part of her mother with her own lot in life, some tension between the daughter and at least one parent, would tend by adolescence to look less rosily on the prospect of marriage and would, instead, shift her vision to include some serious dedication to a career goal.[1] A second but relatively minor route, numerically speaking, to high career aspirations among women, consisted of women who grew up in dual-career professional homes, where mothers were happily involved in significant work, and fathers accepted such work for their daughters as they did for their wives. In the 1950s, there were not many such families.

Involvement in the women's movement, and observations of its impact on young women during these same research years, led to a revision of this model. The early goal of the women's movement was to remove discrimination from the work place for those women already there. Removing the barriers to advancement, for the privileged few women aspiring to top positions in society, took priority over any more long-range goals of effecting a rise in the

[1]Some indirect support for this theory is given by recent analyses of fertility and labor force expectations of young women (Mason 1974). By using a simultaneous equation model for the statistical analysis of their data, Waite and Stolzenberg found that fertility expectations (read here, one index to familism) are three times more powerful in their effect upon labor force plans than work expectations are upon fertility expectations (Waite & Stolzenberg 1975).

expectations of the larger mass of women in society. For me these separate paths - as a political animal on the one hand, and a researcher on the other - eventually clashed, as I saw a basic defect in the model. It accepted a developmental notion of goals and aspirations that accounted for adult behavior almost totally in terms of early family and primary group influences. I was led to revise that model as a consequence of two criticisms of it. For one, the model assumes the passive pawnlike creature I spoke about before: women acted upon by external and internal forces beyond their control.

Second, it accepted the notion that social change takes place largely in the technological and political arenas of society; that family and private life lag behind, highly resistant to change and only slowly softened up by external technological forces - certainly not fast enough to effect any great change between proximate generations of parents and children. The more involved I became with efforts at direct political change, the more I came to believe that psychology and sociology were historically bound disciplines to a degree we had not realized (Gergen 1973). What I mean here is simply this: one can find strong correlations between early family influence and later characteristics of an adult child only in an era of relatively slow rates of social change in family systems. That was the case in the early decades in which the social sciences were maturing; hence our research suggested the powerful, continuing influence of early family life upon future development. Once the process of social change speeds up, and takes place in areas of life that bear directly upon the private aspirations and behavior of men and women, then the correlations between early and later phases of life will drop significantly. Some evidence in support for this revised conception of human behavior is implicit in recent trends in the aspirations of young women. By an early-family-influence model, they should not be all that different from their mothers' generation, since young college-age women in the early and mid-1970s were reared in the early 1960s, before the emergence of the women's movement on any large enough scale to have such effects. To the extent one finds

significant changes in the advanced degrees earned by women in the 1970s as compared to ten years ago, there is even greater evidence of personal change in adulthood, since recent Ph.D. earners are women close to 30 years of age; hence reared in the 1950s when conservative traditional views of women's lives were at their peak. Data presented in the second section of this paper support the existence of such trends in recent years.

The last recommendation in the 1965 report ran against the tenor of that conference, but it provides a good transition to a sketch of the events that have taken place in the years since then. The suggestion was that flexibility and adaptability were fine in moderation, but:

> Some stiffening of the spine and of demands are necessary before society will see that there is social provision on an institutional level for the services women need if they are to create complex role patterns on a stable basis along the family life cycle. (McIntosh 1965, p.31)

Beneath the cumbersome sociologese was the kernel of the idea that it would take political action, by women for women, to effect a change that would permit more than a small minority of women to live a life with simultaneous continuity in both family and career development. That increased continuity, in my judgement, is precisely the direction that social and political change has taken, in the decade that has followed the Bellagio conference. And further, that such change came about not through shifts in the internal climate of families from which young women were launched in the late 1960s and 1970s, but through a combination of external economic pressures which pushed increasing numbers of women into the labor force; and also the political impact of the women's movement upon countless individual women, providing them with an ideological rationale for combining work and family, replacing anxiety with pride when they did so, raising the expectations of women that they were entitled to the same job opportunities in hiring and promotion as were men, and criticizing the traditional service orientation expected of women in favor of one that stresses fulfillment for the woman herself.

Changes in the 1965 to 1975 Decade

I requested that the Rockefeller Foundation staff distribute copies of the final chapter from my Russell Sage book, Academic Women on the Move, since I believe it gives a reasonably detailed summary of both the political developments and the research findings, concerning women students and faculty in higher education through the year 1972. Consequently, I shall give only a very brief sketch of those results in this section, concentrating instead on materials that have become available in the 1972 to 1976 period, and supplementing the focus of the Academic Women volume with broader materials bearing on sexuality, fertility, and marriage statistics that help to broaden this conference's focus to larger social trends that involve or affect women.

I can illustrate the rapidity of political change in this decade as it touches women's lives by using an intriguing introduction to an essay by a sociologist friend of mine. She said:

> A person who maintains a self-definition with no social support is mad; with minimum support, a pioneer; and with broad support, a lemming. (Huber 1973, p. 125)

Since most people accept or change their ideas about rights and duties when they have some social support for doing so, most of us, most of the time, are lemmings. Looking back over the past decade, it could be said that the few feminists active in the United States in the 1962 to 1965 period were then considered "mad"; from 1966 to 1972 were viewed as "pioneers," and since 1972 almost, but not quite, lemmings. Many women could testify that during this past decade a dramatic change has also occurred among many men. At least some of our male colleagues these days have changed from viewing women's political activities as mad and disruptive of their careers, to the admission that the women's movement is the most significant social movement of our time.

The most important impact of the feminist movement has been the sheer fact that women became active on their own behalf, gaining a

new sense of themselves as "doers." There is no substitute for action based on self-interest in the development of confidence in one's self-worth. There has been no vast increase in the number of women teaching high school or college over the past decade, but there has been a decided change in the social and psychological atmosphere within which women students move, make their plans for their future, and implement those plans. We have been learning the lesson that a disadvantaged group is taken seriously only when it takes itself seriously.

Women on Academic Faculties

At the same time our research review was completed in 1972, we could find no evidence of any improvement in the status of women on academic faculties in terms of rank, salary level, tenure ladder, or sheer numerical presence. National estimates of the representation of women in faculty positions from the ACE-Carnegie survey in 1969 were no different in a repeat survey in 1973: roughly 19 percent of all teaching faculty were women. Table 1 shows the rank distribution for three time periods between 1959 and 1972. These data show that in this period women lost ground at the full and associate professor ranks, and gained only at the instructor level.

TABLE 1

Percentage of Women on Regular Faculty by Rank, 1959-60, 1965-66, and 1971-72

(Base: All 4 year colleges and universities)

Rank	1959-60	1965-66	1971-72
Full Professor	9.9	8.7	8.6
Associate Professor	17.5	15.1	14.6
Assistant Professor	21.7	19.4	20.7
Instructor	29.3	32.5	39.4
ALL RANKS	19.1	18.4	19.0

Source: National Education Association 1973, p. 13

The low proportion of women on faculties through 1972 is partly due to the drop in the size of the pool they came from; that is, the bachelor's degree holders of the immediate post-World War II period, when women students constituted only 30 percent of resident college enrollment. It took twenty years for the proportion of women among college graduates to reach the 1940 level of 45 percent, as it did by the early 60s. Earning advanced degrees beyond the bachelor's, plus a number of years of good performance at work, must ensue before advancement to the upper ranks of academic life takes place. From this point of view, one can only expect significant increases in women's representation at the upper professorial levels later in this decade, quite apart from the sex discrimination that has held women back in the past.

The lowering of the age at marriage, and the increase in the marriage rate during the 1960s, both contributed to the reduction in the cohort pool from which women could move into academic positions until very recent years. Since this is a process of change that is very slow to take effect, it is only by looking at the most recent empirical studies available, on younger women now entering college, that we can foresee what kind of potential improvement may take place in the coming decade.

Doctorate Attainment: Number, Career Field, and Trends by Sex

The proportion of doctorates earned by women is a sensitive index to the potential pool of well trained women in academia, government, or business. When one only had data on degree attainment trends through 1970, there was no cause for cheer, for the proportion stood at 11 percent, still far from the high of 20 percent in 1945, and not far from the low of 9 percent in 1954. With this background, Table 2 provides some optimism about the future. Comparing the two three-year time periods of 1969-72 with 1972-75, one finds an overall increase from 11 percent in 1970 to 15 percent in the early 1970s, and

an estimated 21 percent in the most recent three years, through 1975.[2]

TABLE 2

Proportion of Doctorates Earned by Women

1969-1972 vs. 1972-1975*

Field	1969-1972	1972-1975	Proportionate Increase	1972-1975 Total Number by Sex Men	Women
Engineering	.5	1.7	240%	5484	93
Business	1.3	4.3	230	1294	56
Physical Sciences	5.3	7.8	47	6673	520
Mathematical Sciences	7.3	9.1	25	2353	214
Life Sciences	14.7	19.4	32	6012	1166
Basic Social Sciences	19.8	25.2	27	9197	2318
Health Professions	22.8	29.6	30	1256	372
Arts-Humanities	22.9	32.1	40	10669	3325
Education	24.0	31.1	71	8344	2595
Other Fields**	27.1	32.0	19	2045	656
Grand Total	15.4	21.4	39%	53327	11415

Source: McCarthy & Wolfle 1975, recomputed from Table 1, p. 857

* Sample consists of 46 universities that belong to the American Association of Universities (AAU), which includes 89% of all graduate departments rated as "distinguished" or "strong" in the Roose-Anderson survey (1970).

** Miscellaneous category including communications, criminology, foreign affairs, home economics, international relations, library science, public administration, social work, speech, and urban planning.

There was a proportionate increase, then, of 39 percent, in women attaining the doctorate degree in the two time periods contrasted in Table 2. That still does not mean a vast numerical increase, and

[2]McCarthy and Wolfle obtained their data directly from the graduate deans of the 46 member universities of AAU. The figures are actual earned degrees for all years from 1969 through 1974, with estimates for the expected degree earners in 1975.

should be cushioned by the sober realization that more men earned a Ph.D. in the single year of 1971 than women did during the entire twenty-year period from 1950 to 1969. Note too that while women have earned more degrees in the hard sciences, mathematics, business, and engineering in recent years, the total number of women doctorates in these four fields for the three-year period is still less than 1000 women, as compared with almost 16,000 men. Women's presence is far more apt to be felt in education, the arts, and humanities and the social sciences. A further note of caution: with 11,000 degrees earned in three years, an average annual number of new women Ph.D.s is only roughly 3,600 women. Even if they all remained in higher education, this production rate would contribute only two new appointments, in any field, in each of the colleges and universities in the nation. Table 3 puts the matter in even sharper perspective, for the numerical totals of degrees earned by majority males stands as a counter to the optimism implicit in noting the positive improvement in the degree attainment profile of women and minorities.

TABLE 3

Number of Doctorates Conferred on Majority Men, Majority Women, Minority Men, and Minority Women, 1969-72 and 1972-75

Recipient Group	1969-1972	1972-1975	Percent Change
Majority Men	43,768	39,773	-9
Majority Women	7,781	10,451	+34
Minority Men	1,332	2,139	+61
Minority Women	414	964	+133

Source: McCarthy & Wolfle 1975, p. 858

The fact that increasing numbers of women are earning the advanced degree suggests that some part of the attrition problem in graduate school has been reduced in recent years among women. In the 1960s,

a study of Woodrow Wilson fellows, rated as "excellent" students by their faculty, showed that 32 percent of the men but 58 percent of the women dropped out of graduate school before completing their degree requirements (Patterson & Sells 1973, Table 4.4, P.86). One study by Sells (1972) suggested that social support given by advanced women graduate students and women faculty has helped to reduce the attrition rate among more recent entering cohorts of women; for example, the attrition rate among women dropped sharply in the years after a women's support group emerged in the Berkeley sociology department. The degree attainment data gathered by McCarthy & Wolfle is at least consistent with the possibility that some such process has been at work in other disciplines and on a national level during recent years.

Trends in College Freshmen Career Choices by Sex

The career fields women move into, however, have shown relatively little change away from sex-linked choices at the advanced degree level. It may be that career choice is determined to a great extent at the high school level, and hence a change has not been made manifest in data on doctorate degree earners. It may only be among the very youngest women, in very recent years, that one can expect to find significant beginnings of a loosening of the sex linkage of career fields.

One useful set of data, with significance for future higher education patterns and occupational distribution of women, are the annual national surveys of entering college freshmen, conducted by the American Council on Education and the Cooperative Institutional Research Program at UCLA. Since the samples are selected through weighting procedures on a very large scale, the annual reports permit a profile of the national norms of college freshmen cohorts. The most recent report, released in mid-January 1976, provides career field choices of this year's entering freshmen class. Statistics show the trend from the 1970 through the 1975 freshmen classes in the two field groupings with the most dramatic change. In what

have been the four most traditionally masculine fields - business, engineering, medicine, and law - women freshmen have shown a steadily increasing rate of career choice, a shift from 1970 when the ratio of men to women making such choices was 8:1, to 1975 when the ratio has dropped to 3:1.

Over the same five years, women are showing an even greater shift away from career choices in elementary and secondary school teaching, a decline from 31 percent among 1970 freshmen women to a mere 10 percent in the 1975 cohort, the largest single shift in occupational goal I have ever seen in the literature on occupational choice. Part of this shift no doubt reflects a spreading belief that there will be no jobs in the nation's schools because of the continuing drop in the birth rate. Ironically, the ACE Research Advisory Committee had an interesting discussion last year on whether there would be a sufficient teacher supply from these young cohorts to meet even the declining demand for school teachers.

Changing Attitudes toward Gender Roles and Sexuality

The past few years have seen an enormous proliferation of publications on changing conceptions of gender roles in the American population; some of it is more advocacy of change than reports of actual change. There is no reason to burden this conference with an account of that literature. I have selected one of the best examples of the nature of the changes actually taking place, from the same set of data on entering freshmen classes during the last five years. The item involved - "The activities of married women are best confined to the home and family" - is a very general one, perhaps already archaic in urban sophisticated circles, but in the country at large, attitudes have been far less progressive and the item seems to have carried positive meaning to a large proportion of entering freshmen only a few years ago. Trends among men and women freshmen in the national annual surveys are striking. A mere five years ago, more than half of the freshmen males, and slightly more than a third of the women, endorsed the traditional role for women. By 1975, fewer than 1 in

5 women and 1 in 3 men took this position. However, the relative difference between the sexes has remained about the same; attitudes are changing at the same rate and hence there has been no closing of the gap between the sexes.

Table 4 shows a select number of items bearing on attitudes toward women's roles, marriage, job equity, and sexuality, from the 1975 college freshman survey. Some of these items were only added to the surveys in the last two years, so that trend data will not exist for several years. There is almost a saturation now apparent in acceptance of pay and promotion equity for women among both male and female college freshmen. So too, men and women do not differ in the extent to which their marriage expectations, or the importance of raising a family, is important to them (though women have shown a drop of 20 percent in the proportion who view "raising a family" important to them).

The most striking difference, similar in numerous other studies, is in the sexual area (Sorensen 1973). Casual sex relations, based on short acquaintance, are endorsed by two out of three men, but only one out of three women. Like the changing views toward traditional home roles for women, there is a general trend toward greater sexual permissiveness, but a continuing discrepancy between the sexes. The direction of change, however, in this as in other data, seems to be the male orientation toward sexuality outside of marriage: the double standard may be declining, but the single standard that is coming in is a male pattern - more casual sex, with multiple partners.[3]

The last item in Table 4, on cohabitation or trial marriage, shows high levels of endorsement by both sexes, and is a good index to the attitudes that underlie the behavior charted in recent vital statistics, which show a rise in the age at marriage. With marriage no longer the only context for sexual experience, the commitment to

[3]The figures for the 1975 college freshmen are strikingly similar to those found by Sorensen with a national sample of 13 to 19 year old adolescents, in which two-thirds of the males, but only a fifth of the girls, thought sex was "all right with someone known only for a few hours." (Sorensen 1973)

marriage may take place only when there is a commitment to parenthood as well.

TABLE 4

Selected Attitudes and Expectations of Entering College Freshmen Class, 1975, by Sex

Item	Women	Men
Percent who agree Strongly or Somewhat:		
"The activities of married women are best confined to the home and family"...	18.1	37.4
Percent who agree Strongly or Somewhat:		
"Women should receive the same salary and opportunities for advancement as men in comparable positions".....	96.2	88.7
Percent who consider "raising a family" Essential or Very Important to them.....	57.1	56.2
Percent who consider the chances Very Good that they will "marry within a year after college".....	18.7	14.8
Percent who Agree Strongly or Somewhat:		
"If two people really like each other, it's all right for them to have sex even if they have known each other for only a very short time".....	33.2	65.0
Percent who Agree Strongly or Somewhat:		
"A couple should live together for some time before deciding to get married"....	41.2	53.7

Source: ACE, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1975, 1976.

Demographic Trends: Fertility, Marriage and Divorce, Household Composition

Fertility trends are important in a number of respects to our concern for the lives of educated women. Family size is an index not only to the degree of familial orientation in a woman's general values

(Mason 1974), but the probability of withdrawal from employment to cope with the multiple demands of a number of children. Macroscopically, fertility trends are important to the extent that women's occupational choices place them in jobs sensitive to fluctuations in the number of children moving through childhood and adolescence. Schools and colleges, obstetric and pediatric nursing, recreation work, welfare agencies, all are subject to fluctuations in the demand for workers as the supply of children changes with a rise or fall in the birth rate.

The American fertility rate (number of children per 1000 women between 15 and 44 years of age) has changed from its peak of 123 births per 1000 in the baby-boom years of the mid-1950s, to 69 in 1973, the lowest in American history, and has dropped even further in the past two years, to an estimated low for 1975 of 66.7 (N.C.H.S. 1975). That this trend is likely to persist is suggested by recent surveys of the fertility expectations of young women between 18 and 24 years of age, among whom the proportion expecting no more than two children has increased from 44 percent in 1967 to 70 percent in 1973. Suter and Waite have even found that young women with traditional attitudes about gender roles in 1968 were the group with the sharpest change of attitude and family-size plans by 1973 (Suter & Waite 1975).

Childlessness has been a topic of interest among women college students in recent years. Although national data on fertility expectations typically show no more than 5 percent who expect to have no children, I have had classes in the past two years in which as many as 20 percent said they expected to remain childless (including participants in a course on the Sociology of Parenthood). These local and personal impressions receive some substantiation from other studies which show sharp increases among undergraduate college women in the proportion who expect to postpone marriage for at least several years, to remain childless, or to combine careers with family responsibilities (Angrist 1972; Meier 1972). David Riesman (1974) reports numerous women students at Radcliffe College who consider marriage so antithetic to their goal of getting established as

professional women that now they have begun to talk about marriage "after 30."

There may well be changes in these expectations as students move into marriages, and adult life imposes pressures they feel free of in a campus world. One follow-up of a freshman class in the ACE survey series gives an indication of this: fewer than 10 percent of the women in the entering class of 1966 expected to marry while they were in college, but when surveyed four years later, 38 percent had in fact married during college (Bayer, Royer & Webb 1973).

On the other hand, one must keep open the possibility that this issue has become more salient among recent cohorts of young women, and they may stay closer to their college expectations as they move into adult work roles.

Several other demographic trends are important to an understanding of the changes that are taking place among American women. We are experiencing a rising divorce rate but a drop in remarriage among divorced women. Like the fertility trend in recent years, American divorce rates are breaking records, with the 1973 rate higher than the peak reached in the immediate post-World War II period. More children are involved in divorce than ever before, an increase of 100 percent over the decade of the 1960s, so that close to one million children under eighteen years of age are affected by the divorce of their parents each year.

The combined effect of smaller families, higher divorce rates, and lower remarriage rates, is a sharply increasing number of households headed by women (Ross & Sawhill 1975). Of the 26 million children under 18 years of age in 1973, 8 million were in female-headed households (B.L.S. 1974), and the incidence of such households, especially among well educated women, has been estimated to have sharply increased over the past three years. While there are many complex factors involved in this trend, I think it fair to say that two central contributors are: the national dialogue on women's roles and aspirations triggered by the feminist movement, and the increasing proportion of women entering the labor force during the early child-rearing years. Between 1963 and

1973, mothers with at least one child under three have tripled their employment rate from 10 to 29 percent. While only 20 percent of these women work full time, year-round, the sheer fact of employment while very young children are in the home encourages a conception of themselves as potentially capable of carrying the full economic responsibility for themselves and their young children, if their marriages end in divorce. As more women become economically independent, or even potentially so, fewer women will remain in unhappy marriages, and fewer will find remarriage as attractive as it was when economic independence was harder to come by.

Trends in Higher Education

In recent years there has been much debate about the current and future state of higher education in the United States. Not only does inflation press against institutional resources, but there is a more basic undercurrent of concern that education has been "oversold" in the United States. Research is increasingly showing that although people with advanced degrees get higher starting salaries, they do not necessariiy perform on the job better than less educated workers and often show high levels of job dissatisfaction, job turnover, and absenteeism (Berg 1970). Concern increases as the signs increase which show unemployment and underemployment of college graduates and holders of advanced degrees.[4] History and English professional association meetings first experienced the flood of too many unhappy applicants for too few academic jobs several years ago, but by 1976 the phenomenon had spread to numerous other fields as well. The early warnings of a reversal of the supply-demand curve for doctorate holders, by Allan M. Cartter

[4]A recent study by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan estimates that as much as 27 percent of the national labor force are underemployed, i.e., forced to take jobs below their qualifications. The National Science Foundation and the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimate that in the last fifteen years the number of male college graduates who had to accept positions unrelated to their majors climbed from 13 to 20 percent, and that of women college graduates from 10 to 17 percent, while the number who settled for nonprofessional, nonmanagerial positions increased threefold for men and fourfold for women (Shaffer 1976).

and others, went unheeded for many years. Today, increasing numbers of administrators, faculty members, and government officials are looking hard for the first time at the labor market for college graduates - in conjunction with predicted enrollment, degree production, and the underlying demographic ripples that follow any sharp change in fertility rates.

A long-term overview of doctorate production in the United States over the past century shows a near-perfect linear expansion to an estimated 33,000 doctorates granted in 1974. Projections for the production rate by 1980 vary, but even a more balanced downward prediction currently estimates that the number may reach 40,000 by the early 1980s.[5] In this context, the most recent publication of the National Board on Graduate Education (1976) bears somber news indeed for graduate students. The report says that within five years as few as 7000 to 9000, and probably no more than 15,000 to 20,000 new Ph.D.s per year may secure employment that is closely related to the education they received in graduate school. Thus, during the coming decade, when an increasing proportion of new Ph.D.s will be women, the prospect of their absorption into the labor force, at levels commensurate with their training, will be extremely poor compared to the market during the years of expansion in the 1960s.

The underlying demographic reality that will produce this underemployment is seen in studies which show the annual percentage change expected in full-time equivalent enrollment in higher education. Enrollment will be expanding at an increasingly slower rate and will shift to a decrease in enrollment in 1981.

The federal government responded rather quickly to the worsening academic job market by cutting back sharply on federal fellowships and traineeships as early as 1968. From a low of 11,591 students

[5]As recently as 1972, the U.S. Office of Education predicted a supply of 68,700 new Ph.D.s in 1980-81; a 1973 revised estimate reduced this number to 52,000. On January 19, 1976, David Henry, chairman of the National Board on Graduate Education, predicted 40,000 (Henry 1976).

supported on federal stipends in 1961, the number reached a peak in 1968 when 51,446 students were on federal stipends; since then, the number has dropped steadily to 19,649 in 1973, with an estimate for 1974 of a mere 6,062. (Federal Interagency Committee on Education 1970 and Freeman & Breneman 1974). The decline in federal support has not been accompanied by any immediate drop in the number of first-year enrollments for master's and higher degrees: between 1968 and 1971 the number of such students continued to increase (from 458,000 to 528,151 estimated for 1971), during the period when federal stipend support was rapidly dropping (U.S. Office of Education 1971).

The response from the academic world to this changing outlook for graduate education has been erratic and mixed. Least affected by the deterioration of the labor market, from a short-run perspective, may be the elite universities, which resisted the tide toward great expansion of graduate programs in the 1960s and early 1970s, and have slowly cut down the number of graduate student admissions in recent years. Overstaffed newcomer departments to graduate education, drawing on less financially secure students, may be the first to experience drops in application rates, as potential graduate students in the late 1970s reexamine the economic advantage of further higher education for future economic returns. In the long run, however, as the teaching ranks in undergraduate colleges are less fully utilized because of declining enrollments, the picture may change as a consequence of changes in the programs offered by graduate departments. A sign of the times is apparent in the recent recommendations of the National Board on Graduate Education, which stress the need for graduate departments to reexamine their curricula and revise it in ways that will attract "new clientele." What the board has in mind here are older students, fully employed students, part-time students, non-residential students, including the vast numbers of community college teachers who currently hold only master's degrees. To attract such students, however, will require a shift in the goals of graduate faculties - away from the production of academic replacements for themselves, to training programs that provide skills

adaptable to business and government employment (N.B.G.E.1976). It may well be that the graduate departments in the public institutions will find such a revision of their goals more palatable than the more prestigious departments in the private sector of higher education. Hence from a long range perspective, both admission to and the economic utility of an advanced degree from the less prestigious institutions may show an improved profile.

There are serious issues at stake for the academic disciplines in the coming decade. Should administrative pressures to reevaluate academic programs and new federal funding[6] combine to encourage the development of such graduate training programs as the National Board on Graduate Education recommends, one can imagine some rather new looks in academe. As just one instance, foreign language and literature departments might shift part of their orientation away from the humanities division and seek new alliances with nursing, medical, and social work schools, on the premise that the influx of Latin American, Cuban, and Puerto Rican immigrants who have increased in the patient and client loads of hospitals and social work agencies should be matched by a social work or nursing profession that speaks the languages of their clients and understands their culture. Much the same point could be made about health and social work professions in Europe, in relation to foreign Common Market workers in their midst.

It would be ironic indeed if institutions of higher education finally yielded to greater flexibility for employed, part-time, older, non-residential students by changing the requirements for a degree, alternatives to the Ph.D., the timing of course offerings, and the content of courses out of concern for their own financial and status security. Such changes are precisely what centers for continuing education for women have long urged upon their institutions with only spotty success. From being tolerated but not particularly welcomed,

[6]The National Board report recommends federal support for the development of such programs, through the extension and full funding of Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972.

such women may be wooed to enroll in academic institutions in the future.

From the materials presented in this section, we can conclude with a summary profile of the changes which have taken place in the decade since the 1965 Bellagio conference, as follows: as a result of the combined impact of the feminist movement and increasing job opportunities, women by the mid 1970s began to show an increase in numerical representation among graduate students and advanced degree earners. Among young women there is a slight trend toward traditionally masculine occupational fields, and a decided shift away from the teaching profession at the lower levels of education, toward entry into and promotion on a more equitable basis with men in higher education.

It should be noted that much of this change is attributable not to any liberalizing effect of a college education, but to broader social influence through media coverage, publications, and political activity of the women's movement. That the trend away from traditional views of women's roles has taken place independent of college influence is seen most dramatically in the marked trend among entering cohorts of college freshmen away from traditional views - this, before high schools evidenced any significant infusion of new ideas about women's education or life goals.

During the decade from 1965 to 1975, there has also been a continued strong trend toward greater female labor force participation, especially marked among women with young children. With a rise in the age at marriage, an increase in the divorce rate but less remarriage among educated women, there are increasing numbers of economically independent women at work, many with chief or exclusive responsibility for the support of their children.

The upcoming generation of very young women shows a strong trend toward earlier sexual experience, which may contribute to further differentiation between sex and marriage in the future, and hence less pressure to marry until parenthood desires press for the stabilization and legalization of a relationship. With a longer

period of independence socially and sexually, and higher levels of education attainment and work experience, there may be greater retention of egalitarian sharing in marriages formed in the mid to late 20's, smaller sized families to share responsibility for, and hence greater continuity of labor force participation in the lives of women.

The serious and open question in this review concerns future employment opportunities for women. Like men, women today are still making career choices for entry into fields in which there may be fewer openings in the coming decades, with the possible outcome of a shift, between 1965 and 1985, of the following sort: in 1965 women had lower career aspirations while the economy could have utilized more women in the upper levels of professional and managerial fields. In 1985 a great many women will have high aspirations for significant careers in demanding positions, while the economy may not be able to utilize them at the levels to which they aspire. An aggressive watchdog function will be of increasing importance in feminist political organizations, to withstand the pressures to retreat from the gains made in women's economic rights in the late 1960s and 1970s.

This summary is obviously drawn from exclusively American data and American experience over the past decade. It will be of extreme interest to learn in what respects women in European countries have shown a similar profile of change in recent years, and in what respects and why the European pattern has been different.

Looking Ahead

The preamble to the agenda we all received in advance of this Bellagio conference makes the point that Western educators are concerned that their students be equipped "to live in an unknowable future." I would like to begin this section by making two comments about the idea that the future is "unknowable." One is that there are many things we can know about the future: human populations do have some characteristics that permit extrapolation into the future.

For example, knowing the birth and death rates of a population permits some advance knowledge of the size and age distribution of populations in the future. Even on a global scale, we know that the current 1976 population is about 4 billion people, and that ten years from now it will be roughly 20 percent larger - 4.8 billion people. We also know that this rate of growth is far from uniform, for the population increase in the developed countries will be between 7 and 9 percent by 1985, while the populations of the have-not nations of Africa, Latin America, and Asia will be about 26 percent larger by 1985. By contrast, many Eastern European communist countries are troubled by declining populations (New York Times, January 25, 1976). Demographic trends are like glaciers, slow-moving but predictable.

On a smaller scale, institutions of higher education and local school systems can make fairly accurate predictions of the future size of their enrollments. So too, resource specialists can predict future supplies of the diminishing natural resources in the world, given certain assumptions about rates of use.

Second, there is also an ideological and political element in the view that the future is unknowable: it suggests we cannot be shakers and movers, molding the future as we wish it to be. Yet there is a sense in which the human community can no longer simply let the future happen, for many of the predictions we can make with reasonable certainty suggest a future we would find intolerable. Yet solutions to problems we can foresee will require a far different set of skills than we have considered necessary in the past. To cite but one example, the concern expressed in 1965 by university women for famine abroad cannot be met in 1976 through philanthropic shipments of surplus food overseas. The larger food resources of the world are precarious; the solution to famine in the long run must involve not just feeding hungry children but reducing the number of hungry children, as quickly as it is possible to do so through the contraceptive education of parents. To provide contraceptive education with some hope for successful adoption requires an understanding of the history and culture of the peoples involved, and for that we need the knowledge and skills of

anthropologists, historians, and contraceptive technologists, together with those of national leaders of the affected nations.

Closer to our own conference concern for educated women: to simply encourage more women to obtain the Ph.D. may be self-defeating in the future, unless one works either to change the content of the training for those degrees or to expand the manpower uses to which such highly trained personnel can be put. Otherwise we are merely encouraging women to expose themselves to great frustration in jobs for which they are overqualified.

This Bellagio conference clearly cannot take on the world, but we ought to have as our ultimate framework an appreciation of the limits to growth and development in our Western societies that inheres in our dependence on and interdependence with the vast, have-not majority of the global population - a population that cannot indulge in the luxury of seeking more "meaningful" work or greater "self-fulfillment" of either women or men. We might wish to share our ideas on how humanists and social scientists in Western societies could redefine their mission as educators to contribute to the solution of these larger global issues, and also to discuss how the education of women could contribute to such goals.

For my part, I shall restrict my focus to humbler matters in the foreseeable future, in the United States in particular, leaving to our discussions how many of these trends apply to other nations in the Western tradition. Several of the trends that, in my view, will persist over the coming decade, have already been indicated in the preceding section. I shall merely itemize them here and add a few comments about possible future implications.

Fertility. Small family-size desires and low fertility rates will probably continue over the foreseeable future. The one and two child family will probably remain the new modal pattern in the United States for some time to come. This does not mean there will not be cyclical fluctuations. Fertility decisions are often responsive to the state of the economy. Some demographers are currently claiming that inflationary pressures have led not to a final reduction in

family size, but to postponement of births, and they predict a rise in the fertility rate in the next five years as those young couples who postponed births enter their late 20's and begin child bearing (Sklar & Berkov 1975). But the sheer fact of birth postponement tends toward smaller family size, and the size of family is far more important in terms of what else individual women do with their lives than the overall fertility rate in their whole birth cohort.

On the other hand, as contraceptive practices become more widely used and more effective, or as abortion becomes more widely practiced as a back-up to unsuccessful contracepting behavior, there is one important consequence that few family planners had in mind when they visualized the perfect contracepting society. Unwanted births have the advantage of evening out the responsiveness of the fertility rate to changing political and economic tides. When only wanted births occur, one can predict more sharp, short-term increases and declines in the fertility rate. This could mean that in the future there will be far wilder fluctuations in the number of young people eventually seeking entry into the labor force, varying by millions of young people within a few years. It is highly questionable whether the economy will be readily able to adapt to such rapidly fluctuating variations in labor supply. This could mean siblings just a few years apart facing totally different employment pictures when they finish school - a feast or famine syndrome. And it would mean that considerably greater flexibility will be necessary for schools and colleges, in order to adjust to such sharply varying cohort sizes (Campbell 1975).

Divorce. Rates of marital disruption and divorce may continue at a relatively high level for some time to come. Though the focus in this paper has been on the impact of the new ideas about gender roles, and the increased economic independence of women, as precipitants to marital break-up, it should be noted that for the vast bulk of women who have not moved through our colleges, there is an additional route to such marital disruption. Women are considered by economists to be the major component among "secondary workers" in American house-

holds, and it has been observed that the number of such secondary women workers increases in proportion to the numbers of unemployed male household heads (Mincer 1973). This involves a reversal of gender roles within the family, with increased anxiety on the part of the men who are unemployed - a combination that may well contribute heavily to tension within the marriage and eventual divorce.

Labor Force Participation. The bimodal curve of female labor force participation - with withdrawal of sizable numbers of women from employment during the child-bearing years and return when children reach school age - will change as family size declines, larger proportions of women remain unmarried and/or childless, and increasingly larger proportions of young mothers with preschool children remain in the work force through the early child-rearing years, or become single parent heads of households following divorce. To the extent that provisions for pregnancy and childbirth leave with full or partial pay are extended, social legitimation will increase for working mothers of very young infants. The recent Supreme Court decision which ruled unconstitutional any state prohibition against employment during pregnancy or the first six weeks following childbirth is a step in this direction (A.C.L.U., January 1976). On the other hand, the resistance to institutionalized child-care in the United States continues as a brake against any extensive, continuous, labor force participation for women through these years. Most of their work is part time and most of the child-care is provided by relatives at the child's or the relative's home (Roby 1973, Westinghouse 1971).

Government Policy re: Women's Economic Rights. Federal pressure pertaining to equal employment opportunities and affirmative action plans is more problematic as we look ahead to the next decade. These directives have led to employer efforts to recruit and promote more women and minority group members and at the same time have triggered mounting criticism from administrators and senior male faculty in academia and white ethnic groups in the larger labor force. Cutbacks required by economic austerity are currently providing evidence to support the old adage, "last hired, first fired." At the same time,

there is growing pessimism in women's political circles as to the likelihood of securing ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in the four states now short of the 38 needed for final ratification.

It will be of extreme interest to learn what success women in European societies have had in improving the status of women in higher education and what political means have been useful in this regard.

Home and Job Location

There is one remaining broad issue for which the evidence is slim concerning likely future trends, but which is important and interesting enough to share and to discuss at this conference, since it has significant implications for higher education and the lives of women.

This issue concerns the meaning of the home and its physical relationship to the job. The expansion of the urban population in the United States over the past thirty years, coupled with economic affluence and increased car ownership, has led to the wide dispersion of the urban population in the suburban satellite rings around all of our cities. This had led to increasing distances between home and work place. Considering the growing concern about fuel shortages, it is quite possible that there will be a shortening of the work week and a lengthening of the work day - to conserve fuel consumed in the transit between home and job, and perhaps even home and school for youngsters.

A four-day, nine-hour work day, or a four-day, eight-hour school day, would carry enormous implications for the weekly schedules of employed women, including changes in child care needs, and the kinds of activities that become associated with the home as family members spend longer periods of time there. Some educators have talked about future use of computer terminals to permit interactive study by children right at home; planners talk about shopping simplified by computer terminals in homes. As colleges and universities reach out for new clientele, including new varieties of students traveling greater distances to attend classes and workshops, there may be pressures to consolidate course offerings in a way that would minimize the number

of trips that students and faculty make to the classroom. Here again, there are considerable implications in terms of the hours and days a week that family members will spend on the homefront rather than away. The idea that circulated during the 1950s and 1960s, of home as the place where family members merely catch their breath, sleep, and eat on the run would thus undergo a considerable change.

Added to this would be a subtle variation in the activities now being engaged in, voluntarily, in the home setting. Judging by the popularity of arts, crafts, organic foods, canning and preserving, and do-it-yourself projects, it becomes increasingly questionable whether the home is merely a "consumption" unit any longer. Many things are being produced there as well these days, and increasingly manufacturers find consumer resistance to totally "finished" products, so that the home becomes a last-stage processing locus as well (Burns 1975). A shorter work week would provide an added push in this direction, since it would facilitate taking on more labor-intensive activities at home. Home improvement has become a significant growth industry in the past several years in the United States, much of it done by the homeowners themselves. In fact, the financial returns on insulating a heat-leaking home are greater than the dividends earned from most stock investments, or interest from savings accounts. Local businesses that sell the equipment for building a garage, or adding a room to a home, or installing an extra bath, have been taking on interesting new functions in some parts of the country by offering short classes of instruction for their customers on the skills involved in such projects, an additional sign of a blurring between the major institutions of shop, home, work place, and school (Wall Street Journal, 1975).

As the bachelor's and master's degree lose their credentializing assurance of entry into professional and managerial jobs, more well educated men and women will not only work at jobs they did not plan for, but the pressures may also be particularly great for them to supplement incomes by blue collar projects at home. These jobs will call for skills of a very different order from those they acquired on college campuses. So there will be the additional blurring of status

distinctions across social classes, implicit in the kinds of social changes that may increase over the next decade.

As such non-monetary exchange activities take further root in the home, we might see the ironic consequence that home maintenance, housewifery, and child-rearing become valued in a new way. With only one or two planned children, more women may wish to stay at home during the children's first few years, although the laws of the land would permit them to retain their jobs. In the same era then - as some sectors of the feminist movement take the view that the only way to improve the status of the housewife is through payment of wages, because Americans only value something with a direct dollar value attached to it - the larger society may be undergoing a subtle change of evaluation of these very activities, simply because more men and women will have learned the dollar value of any improvement they make in their own homes by the labor of their own hands.

Yet another implication of such a trend would be the interesting possibility that an ecological ethic of respect for the natural world and the need to preserve its limited resources may be acquired, not from college courses in ecology and economics, but from the direct personal experience of learning to value such things as wood and natural food through the pleasure of working with them. This has been suggested in some recent feminist writing: the denunciation of the man-built world of industrial societies. As Adrienne Rich put it:

> A man's world. But finished.
> They themselves have sold it to the machines. (Rich 1973)

She strikes a note reminiscent of the romantic poets and nature-loving novelists of an earlier time.

It is a dead end, however, to merely reject the machine-run society men have built. Human populations of the size now characteristic of industrial societies cannot be fed, clothed, and housed by that route. The issue is how to use the technology at our disposal in a manner that suffuses it with human spirit and pride of craft.

And this brings us back to the point with which this section began. Beyond the hard evidence from the social sciences which permits

us to illuminate some of the "knowable" characteristics of the future, we can carry the warmth of spirit and knowledge of the past with which the humanities provide us, if the humanists join with the practitioners of the arts, music, and the crafts; with the healers from the applied professions; with the ecologically-minded scientists and technologists - any and all men and women who see a unity beyond the diversity of human cultures - and together make the humanities a living presence in a future we make by living, loving, and teaching it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Civil Liberties Union, Civil Liberties, No. 310, January 1976, p. 1.

Angrist, S. "Variations in Women's Adult Aspirations during College," Journal of Marriage and Family, 34(3), 1972, pp. 465-68.

Bayer, A., J. Royer and R. Webb. Four Years after College Entry, Washington, D.C.: ACE Research Reports No. 8, 1973, p. 1.

Berg, I.E. Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery. New York: Praeger, 1970.

Berger, S.D. et al. "New Perspectives for the Study of Western Europe," Social Science Research Council, Items, 29(3), September 1975, pp. 34-37.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. Children of Working Mothers. U.S. Department of Labor, Sepcial Labor Force Report 165, 1974.

Burns, S. Home, Inc. The Hidden Wealth and Power of the American Household. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1975.

Campbell, A.A. Statement before the Subcommittee on Census and Population, House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, November 12, 1975.

Carnegie Commission. College Graduates and Jobs. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.

Freeman, R.B. and D.W. Breneman. Forecasting the Ph.D. Labor Market: Pitfalls for Policy. Washington, D.C.: National Board Graduate Education, Technical Report No. 2, 1974.

Gergen, K.J. "Social Psychology as History," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 26(2), 1973, pp. 309-20.

Harmon, L.R. "Doctorates of the 1970's: Postdocs and Employment," unpublished paper presented at the Association of Graduate Schools meeting, October 18, 1973.

Henry, D.D., quoted in The Chronicle of Higher Education, XI(17), January 19, 1976.

Huber, J. "From Sugar and Spice to Professor," in Rossi & Calderwood, 1973, pp. 125-35.

Mason, K.O. Women's Labor Force Participation and Fertility. Research Triangle Park, North Carolina: Center for Population Research and Services, 1974.

Mason, K.O., J. Czajka, and S. Arber. "Recent Changes in Women's Sex Role Attitudes," paper presented to Sex Stratification Seminar, SSRC, New York, 1974. (unpublished)

McCarthy, J.L. and D. Wolfle. "Doctorates Granted to Women and Minority Group Members," Science, 189(4206), September 12, 1975.

McIntosh, M.C. Villa Serbelloni Conference on Women's Education in Great Britain and the United States. New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1965.

Meier, C. "Mother Centeredness and College Youth's Attitudes toward Social Equality for Women: Some Empirical Findings," Journal of Marriage and Family, 34(1), 1972, pp. 121-51.

Mincer, J. "Determining Who are the 'Hidden Unemployed,'" Monthly Labor Review, U.S. Department of Labor, 1973, pp. 27-30.

National Board on Graduate Education. Outlook and Opportunities for Graduate Education. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1976.

National Center for Health Statistics. "Provisional Statistics: Births, Marriages, Divorces and Deaths for October 1975," Monthly Vital Statistics Report, 24(10), December 29, 1975.

National Education Association. Salaries Paid and Salary-Related Practices in Higher Education, 1971-72, Washington, D.C., 1973.

New York Times, International Economic Review, Section 4, January 25, 1976.

Patterson, M. and L. Sells. "Women Dropouts from Higher Education," in Rossi & Calderwood, 1973, pp. 79-91.

Riesman, D. Quoted in Harvard Today Newsletter. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973, p. 8.

Rich, A. "Waking in the Dark," Diving into the Wreck. New York: W.W. Norton, 1973.

Roby, P. Child Care - Who Cares? Foreign and Domestic Infant and Early Childhood Development Policies. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Roose, K. and C. Andersen. A Rating of Graduate Programs. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1970.

Ross, H.L. and I.V. Sawhill. Time of Transition: The Growth of Families Headed by Women, Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1975.

Rossi, A. and A. Calderwood (eds.). Academic Women on the Move. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press, 1973.

Sells, L.W. Convention Notes. SWS Newsletter, 2(5), 1972, p. 20.

Shaffer, R.A. "Down the Ladder," The Wall Street Journal, January 16, 1976, p. 1.

Sklar, J. and B. Berkov. "The American Birth Rate: Evidence of a Coming Rise," Science, August 29, 1975, pp. 693-700.

Sorensen, P. Adolescent Sexuality in Contemporary America. New York: World, 1973.

Suter, L.E. and L.J. Waite. "Worker, Housewife, Mother: Role Decisions of Young Women," paper presented to the American Sociological Association meetings, San Francisco, 1975.

U.S. Office of Education. Students Enrolled for Advanced Degrees: Fall 1970. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

U.S. Office of Education. Projections of Educational Statistics to 1980-81, 1971 Edition. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

U.S. Office of Education. Projections of Educational Statistics to 1981-82, 1972 Edition. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Waite, L.J. and R.M. Stolzenberg. "Intended Fertility and Labor Force Participation of Young Women - Insights from Non-Recursive Models," American Sociological Review, April 1976.

Westinghouse Learning Corporation-Westat Research Inc. Day Care Survey, 1970: Summary Report and Basic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1971.

Wall Street Journal, "Fixing it Up," December 26, 1975, p.1.

EVOLVING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN

Joseph Katz

Abstract

As a result of detailed studies of college students, graduate students, and middle-aged couples in which the wife has returned to school, the author foresees a general improvement in relations between the sexes, predicting a greater "mutuality" between husbands and wives, men and women, with relationships based more commonly on consent than obligation. As regards the middle-aged couples he has interviewed, most husbands have been "overwhelmingly supportive" of their wives' return to schooling. Although ambivalent reactions were present, i.e., guilt on the wife's part or loss of confidence on the husband's, most couples experienced an "invigoration of the relationship." One interesting effect of the middle-aged wife's return to school has been a concomitant freeing up of the husband in many cases. Some of the men are now beginning to plan career changes or additional schooling for themselves - made possible by the woman's greater financial contribution to the family. Mr. Katz says of the educational pursuits of the women that they "had the effect of helping men realize that a different phasing of their own lives was now possible."

* * *

Women's roles, the underdevelopment of their potential in the past, their long history of suppression, have moved sharply into the foreground of consciousness in the United States in the last ten years. The media, politics, the law, public and private discussion all give considerably enlarged attention to women's economic, social, and psychological status and there are beginning to be efforts to equalize opportunities for women in academia, business, and government.

Women's enhanced consciousness of their own power, their sense of autonomy in determining their own lives, has become a central fact to be reckoned with in public and private life. It spells a changed consciousness on the part of men and altered relationships between women and men. In this paper I want to trace some of these changes, chiefly as they emerge from my own studies of university students and of middle-aged men whose wives have returned to education.

Undergraduate Students

One of the first signs of the newly emerging women's movement was the appearance of coeducational living on college campuses in the second half of the 1960s. It signaled the end of the discriminatory custodial confinement of college women in their dormitories and it brought about unprecedented changes in relationships between college men and women. Stanford University was the pioneering institution, with students themselves taking the initiative against administrative resistance. A group of students asked that a recently vacated fraternity house be made over into a residential community which would include male and female undergraduate and graduate students, and faculty as well. A few years before this request was made, Stanford had built new dormitories for women in a part of the campus quite separate from the male residences - though a woman dean had protested that such separation was not in the interest of fostering understanding between the sexes. Now, however, the Stanford administration acceded to the students' request, at least to the point of housing men and women undergraduates under the same roof. That first arrangement more than fulfilled the original proponents' expectations; special intellectual and social vitality characterized the new residence. The following year four residences were "integrated" and after another two years there were only a few residences on the Stanford campus that were still single-sex. Daring as the concept of coeducational residences had seemed at the beginning, few protests were voiced either by parents or in the public press. The national magazines in text and

pictures commented approvingly about the new arrangement. Here was an idea whose time had come.

The Stanford model was soon adopted on campuses throughout the nation. Today it is hard to remember that in 1961 the visiting of college men and women in each other's rooms was a national issue, that parietal rules were rigid, protecting the girls' virginity, and restricting their freedom of movement.

Coeducational living was one of the consequences of the student movement which in turn was based upon the civil rights movement. The desire for freedom from previous oppressive rules, and for equality, characterizes all three. In the early days of the student movement there was still the practice of assigning secretarial work to women. But the women soon protested. It became quite common, at mass rallies and sit-ins, to find women leaders on the platform and before the microphone.

Student activism provided the immediate stimulus and the supportive setting for the emergence of college women into equality. There had been long-range preparatory conditions, among them the fact that nearly half of the college population in the United States had been women - who, moreover, tended to do better academically than the men. But in the past women often would hide some or much of their competencies in the presence of men. A study at Stanford and San Jose State College, undertaken as late as the mid-1960s (Leland, 1966) showed that there had been no change over several decades in the tendency of a large proportion of women to "play dumb" in front of men. This approach had been linked with another - colleges were considered, in economic terms, a marriage market. Marriage had been a primary "vocational" objective for women in the face of an occupational situation in which they were monotonously offered clerical, low level selling, nursing, and teaching jobs with these occupations definitely subsidiary to the job of being a housewife. Premature pregnancy or even sexual experience often threatened entry into the housewife job market - hence the parietal rules.

The students in the mid-1960s had witnessed the housewifely dream

lived out in its full consequences during great economic prosperity. For many, the dream of togetherness in large families in the suburbs had indeed grown sour. Many a young middle-class woman student was motivated by the observation of the intellectual and emotional confinement of her suburban mother to conceive of a different life for herself. Her desire for greater freedom was abetted, physically, by the availability of the birth control pill and later by the legalization of abortion and, psychologically, by the emphasis in the youth culture on greater frankness in expressing feelings and following impulses. The consequences have been substantially altered sexual behavior and attitudes, more ambitious occupational aspirations on the part of women, and changed conceptions of male and female roles within the family.

The sexual behavior of college women changed dramatically. Studies of women college students undertaken in the 1950s never seem to have reported an incidence of premarital sexual intercourse beyond 25 percent - and usually that percentage was considerably lower. Moreover the research of several investigators indicates that a considerable portion of female premarital coital experience was "confined to her future spouse and to the one- or two-year period immediately preceding marriage." (Ehrmann, 1960, p.43). Studies undertaken by me in recent years, of samples of students at eight East and West Coast institutions, show a considerably different picture.* For instance, in 1973, 64 percent of the college women reported premarital coital experience. Moreover, 50 percent of the freshman women reported sexual experience and this figure rose to 76 percent by the junior year. (Seventy-one percent of college males had experienced sexual intercourse; 61 percent of the freshmen and 75 percent of the juniors.) Of perhaps even greater interest is the fact that the women are considerably more sexually active than the men. At the time of the survey, 70 percent of the women, but only 46 percent of the men, reported having a sexual relationship with someone. Differences in frequency of intercourse were great. Fifty-four percent of the women, as against 30 percent of the men, reported

*These studies have not yet been published in full. For a brief overview see Katz (1974).

having intercourse five times a month or more often. The women also reported more frequently than the men that their sexual relationships were emotionally fulfilling (80 percent vs. 64 percent).

These findings are astounding if held against traditional preconceptions and conception of roles. Once freed from certain social controls and consequences, women seem less repressed, less guilt-ridden, more in touch with the sensuous part of their nature. This new freedom gains an added dimension when one considers that women tie the emotional and physical aspects of sex together. In our surveys, the women, in contrast to the men, see sex and affection as closely connected. Seventy-two percent of the women, as against 26 percent of the men, say that they would not have intercourse with someone if they were only physically attracted to them. In our interviews we found women resistant to men for whom sex was a test of prowess, or a release of tension. One of our female interviewees, who viewed a sexual relationship as one of two equal partners, remarked that "it takes courage, when you are sitting in a dark room and someone makes aggressive moves, to say, 'Wait a minute, let's talk about it and find out if we both feel the same way about the situation.'"

Just because the women we observed were considerably freed both from past taboos and the use of sex as a means of getting a man, they could also afford to take a more detached view of sex. We found men pressing for the security of a commitment such as marriage; taking the sexual act as a token of such commitment. The women, however, resisted such pressure until they could be more sure that the relationship promised the mutual understanding and support they wanted. Women emerged as the teachers of the men to whom they were attached, in regard to emotion and feeling in relationships - asking that their aspirations, moods, and sensitivities be recognized and cared for. By implication, males were asked to become more sensitive and more caring of their own aspirations, moods, and sensitivities.

This changed perception of relationships went together with a reorientation in regard to future roles. No longer would a woman's graduation from college signal the end - for many years, if not forever

- of the interests and skills developed in her prior education. Women were moving into occupations other than the traditional ones at an increasing rate; in my 1973 survey, 82 percent considered a career very important or important to their self-fulfillment. In fact, often they put a career above marriage and having children. However, 67 percent considered marriage, and 62 percent considered having children very important or important to their self-fulfillment. On the average they expected about 1.9 children. (The men expected somewhat more: 2.2).

I have indicated some differences in perception and attitudes between men and women. But it is of special interest that, at least among college students, the changed attitudes of the women have substantial support from men. Most college men in my studies are willing to face up to the further consequences of the changed occupational aspirations of women. They are willing to divide domestic tasks equally. In particular, 86 percent of the men (and 92 percent of the women) say that fathers should spend as much time as mothers in the bringing up of children. Regarding who earns the money, however, traditional attitudes still show themselves strongly. Seventy-six percent of the women see it as a joint task; only 44 percent of the men do. (But even this near half of men is a considerable break with traditional ideology.) Ninety percent of the women say, and 76 percent of the men agree with them, that young women today must make more independent plans for their lives than their mothers did.

The general picture is one of a considerable freeing of women's expressiveness, the removal of many of the social restrictions and barriers between men and women, the suspension of taboos and artificialities that formalized, ritualized, and demeaned relationships. The "date" is a waning institution. It tended to inhibit acquaintance and encourage power and status games. There is now less segregation of men and women on all occasions. There has been a diminution of the incessant belittling jokes and teasings of women by men. Feelings rather than obligation are seen as the determinant of a relationship. The new phenomenon of "living together," as distinguished from the premature marriage, illustrates and exemplifies the new attitudes.

Still, all the data in the studies I have participated in show a certain ambiguity when it comes to male and female conceptions of their roles. The same questionnaire I have already cited has also yielded data that seem to show that both males and females persist in certain traditional conceptions of their roles. Pluralities of men view themselves as more aggressive and objectively rational and less emotional than women. Women tend to view themselves as more emotional and sensitive and less aggressive than males. While many data seem to move in the direction of a "unisex" conception of the roles of the sexes, other data go counter to it. Do they indicate a waning persistence of old stereotypes? Is there some difference between the sexes that is irreducible, but needs to be expressed in fresh terms? I will discuss this later in the paper.

It is important to note that the new freedom has not brought an easy solution to the old problems of relationships, including anxiety and guilt about sex, the disposition to raise barriers and to misunderstand each other, tendencies to exploitation, cruelty, and destructiveness. These perennial problems, which have inspired much of the literature of the world, are still very much with us. But at least women no longer need to carry the perennial stigma of second rank, or men the burden of justifying the meniality or exclusion of women.

I should also like to call attention to the fact that the women's movement is part of a cultural climate characterized by enlarged recognition of, and latitude for, sexuality. The easing of rules about what can be seen and printed about sex, widespread teaching of how to enhance the enjoyment of sex, social acceptance of living together without marriage, changed legal definitions of obscenity - all indicate a larger acceptance of instinct (and perhaps of human rationality as well). It is interesting to note that the recently emerging opposition to women's equality, for instance the recent defeats of the ERA Amendment in several states, relied heavily on such arguments as integrated bathrooms. This, to me, is an only slightly veiled expression of the fear of sex, regressively expressed in its scatological guise. (I wonder to what extent the campaign against abortion is an

expression of the fear of sex, rather than what appears to be a moral question of whether a fetus is a human being and as such, entitled to the same rights as an infant.)

Graduate Students

I have thus far talked about undergraduate students because the more dramatic changes have taken place among them, because they have pioneered certain ways of behaving and because they presage the future. But I would also like to report briefly, on the basis of data collected by myself and my associates, particularly Nancy Adler (1976), on what is happening in graduate and professional schools. In recent years, increasing numbers of women have entered graduate training. They have been helped by affirmative action, and in the distributions of awards and assistantships they do not seem to have been greatly discriminated against. There are still glaring discrepancies, however. Women enter advanced training in much smaller proportions than men and the women who do apply are brighter (i.e., better academic performers) than their male counterparts, indicating that self-selection still imposes limits. Of even greater significance is the fact that once the women get to graduate school much of what is traditional about the institution still inhibits their making full use of it. One obstacle, for example, is that the overwhelming numbers of their teachers are males. This not only infringes upon their sense of themselves as being both women and academicians, but it also helps to exclude them from full participation in the informal process. Men students have easier access, outside the classroom, to their male professors. Lingering attitudes of faculty, their colleagues, and wives cast a somewhat suspicious light on informal association with females. Yet it is the informal process through which much learning takes place, and which forms the network base for the launching of a career. These are patterns not easily subject to change.

Our data also indicate the persistence of more simple-minded forms of discrimination, among them "humorous" remarks by teachers in class in which women students are viewed as sex objects. In a recent Wright

Institute survey, 52 percent of the women reported observing frequent or occasional instances of discrimination by male faculty members against women and this judgment is confirmed by the observations of 36 percent of their male peers (Adler 1976).

What has been said about the conditions of women in graduate school may help to explain why some women do not develop their full aggressiveness and assertiveness, not only in their social and political relations but perhaps even in the expression of their views and the formulation of theory. One hears male faculty members say that while women are easily found, perhaps even in larger numbers, among the upper third of their classes, the really outstanding students tend to be males. Such "outstandingness" may well be a function of the encouragement and informal association from which men benefit in larger proportion.

Middle-Aged Men

The data for this section come from a study of continuing education programs for women under the direction of Helen Astin (1976). My own participation in the study focused on the husbands and the home life of the adult women who returned to education at the college level (Katz 1976). The husbands of these women turned out to be overwhelmingly supportive of their wives' return to school. (Evidence of this support was obtained from husbands and wives independently.) But further data of the study indicate both backward-looking and forward-looking aspects to these attitudes.

The backward-looking aspect is that the husband's support was not without ambivalence. There were indications that when some of the customary expectations were disrupted - e.g., the manner and time of dinner, a social event, entertainment of guests - husbands expressed, though often subtly, their disapproval. Here again, what happens is not just a function of the male's attitude alone; women often share similar attitudes and feel somewhat guilty about taking time and attention away from these customary activities. Often, the women I studied confined their academic work to times when everybody in the

family was asleep - I marveled at their energy and stamina. Often they would be quite self-effacing about needed physical space; a desk of one's own seems to be difficult to come by for wives in even quite well-to-do, middle-class households.

Male ambivalence also expressed itself more deeply than just regret at the absence of conveniences. The new powers and new status of their wives threatened the balance of the marriage, and threatened by implication the male's sense of his own status. In more extreme instances, for example, when the wife attained a position more eminent than that of her husband, it could lead to a serious crisis of self-doubt on the husband's part. In a more favorable situation, a husband declared to me that he had married one woman and now, because of her schooling, had another. I asked him which one he liked better and after a slight hesitation he said, the present one.

With this last response we move into the forward-looking aspect of the situation. The wife's schooling means that she becomes a more interesting person. Conversation at home has a new vitality; the wife has access to experiences and activities in which the whole family can share; new friends, people with more developed interests and competency, now come to the house. At times wives involve their husbands in joint activities, such as taking courses together. All this means that the life of the family is not only enriched but that the husband acquires a new respect for his wife and she in turn can be more generous, more understanding of him because she no longer suffers from the (often unconscious) sense of being put down by him. The husband, too, gains an enlarged sense of his own powers. It is no surprise, therefore, that we found that a large percentage of the couples we studied declared that because of the wife's schooling their marriages had improved.

The invigoration of the relationship is felt by the children as well. The children's interest in school goes up. They now follow the example of their mother and may be found studying side by side with her. The children's support is not without its own ambivalence - after all, customary expectations have been modified. It is my impression, not fully clear from our data, that the daughters tend to be somewhat more

supportive of their mother's aspirations than the sons - an impression corroborated by studies of the working mother (Nye and Hoffman, 1963).

It bears mentioning in passing that women's return to school is not as strongly oriented toward occupational objectives as one might expect. They put interest in learning, and the achievement of independence and identity ahead of getting a job. That response may in part be influenced by the still limited opportunities for more intelligent work, aggravated by lack of mobility due to women's domestic ties. But our data make unmistakably clear that even if occupational opportunities increased, these women would maintain a dedication to the pursuit of ideas. The excitement they express over learning reminds me of the dedication that one observes in highly motivated scholars. Part of their excitement probably is a function of their greater maturity; it makes what is presented in courses more concrete. And it is certainly true that in the past much of the intellectual and artistic life of America has been supported by women who read and women who were interested in the arts and music.

Some Emerging Trends

I now can summarize and expand on some of the trends in male-female relationships as they emerge from the data of less than a decade. It is interesting to realize in how short a time many of these changes have taken place. I have talked about the invigoration which can come to men's lives when, as in the cases of both college youth and middle-aged men, women take a role in the emotional and intellectual education of their men friends.

In our interviews with middle-aged husbands I found that the wives' return to school, with a career as a possibility for the future had the effect of helping the husbands realize that a different phasing of their own lives was now possible. Some men expressed hopes that they might take off a year or so for their own future development, whether it meant the development of an artistic or writing capacity, further schooling, or simply more leisure. They could envisage the

possibility of a career shift. They could look forward to the possibility of a greater sharing in the financial support of the family. For many of the men, the companionship of a woman involved the possibility of a support unheard of in previous times. My first point is that the new situation makes possible mutuality of support between women and men.

My second point is the observation that relationships now can be more strongly based on feeling and consent, rather than obligation. In the past, regardless of how marriages were entered into, regardless of initial feeling, marital relationships were strongly ruled by a sense of obligation, founded in both law and social sanction. With the mitigation of legal and social constraints, and with changed moral attitudes, marriages are coming to take on more the character of voluntary consent, illustrated in such recent breaks with tradition as marital contracts renewable every so many years. We also are paying a temporary price for these social and psychological rearrangements in the many painful breakups of marriages; they are in part a function of the new freedom that has not yet found a correlative stabilization in better selection of mates and greater capacity to maintain relationships harmoniously.

If the present trend toward smaller families continues, it may lead to men and women spending more time with each other; thus, these relationships would take on even greater significance. This raises the interesting question of what will happen to the life of adults, particularly of women, because of the decreased time spent with children. Will it diminish the opportunity for what Erikson has termed generativity? Will it cut people off from the renewal of self that is provided by the young? That need not be so. Fewer children may mean more care and sophistication in their bringing up. (I believe that the movement of the 1930s that expected great social improvement through better child rearing was essentially on the right track. The problem was that sophistication in applying the knowledge was lacking.) The greater equality of mothers and fathers, the increasing entrance of mothers into professions and occupations, are in themselves going

to affect children; daughters by way of identification and sons by way of an enlarged respect for women. The diminution of tension between the sexes that one may expect may well produce children with fewer heterosexual anxieties. The father's greater participation in child rearing will diminish the sex-linking of nurturance, the mysterious distance of a partially absentee parent, and the reliance on one person as the chief early educator - an absolutism that is cut more than in half when there is a second authority in the field. My third point, therefore, is that the new relations between men and women imply altered relations with their children and as yet only partially foreseeable effects in the next generation's identity.

Further, we cannot assume that the manner of association will not significantly change. During the last ten years there has been a good deal of experimentation with male-female relationships. Stable dyadic relationships have frequently given way to serial monogamy in and out of wedlock, and even to simultaneous intimate relationships - something one might label polyphily. Moreover, all kinds of group and communal living arrangements have been explored. (It is possible that because the proprietary aspects of sex have diminished, people have been able to be more open with each other - whether or not this finds expression in sexual intimacy.) There has also been an enlarged acceptance of bisexuality and a considerable diminution of social and legal sanctions against homosexuality.

None of these patterns are particularly new in history and there have been periods when one or another of the present arrangements have been pursued more vigorously than even in our relatively liberal times. The experience of history seems to be that periods of liberalization of instinct expression are followed by renewed imposition of social and legal restrictions - and there are some signs that this is beginning to happen now. At the same time it seems that the present situation is different. That difference consists in the firmer sense that many women have of their own right to autonomy, and the sophistication they have acquired with which to pursue and defend it. This may well be an irreversible fact of history. If so, then present

experimentations may be the confused beginnings of fresh relationships between men and women based more fully upon understanding, sensitivity, and respect rather than on defensive stereotypes and divisive roles.

Is There a Difference?

Do the trends toward equality I have noted mean that we are moving toward unisex? Research points in that direction. The recent comprehensive survey by Maccoby and Jacklin (1973) finds some sex differences; females seem to have greater verbal ability, males seem to excel in mathematical ability. Males seem to be more aggressive. Yet Maccoby finds that she has had to retract assertions of sex differences she had made in another authoritative survey only seven years earlier. She now says that we have good reason to doubt that girls are more dependent than boys, that girls are more oriented toward interpersonal cues, that boys have a higher activity level and are more impulsive, that girls are more passive (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1973, p. 132). If the evidence can shift that rapidly, to what extent can it be based upon "real" differences? Are what we have called "masculine" and "feminine" simply definitions of general human tendencies, sometimes found more fully in a male and sometimes more fully in a female? No clearer evidence for this fluidity can perhaps be found than in the writing of Aristophanes, a man who clearly, in Lysistrata, expressed a feminine consciousness in all its subtlety.

Yet the thought persists that there is more of a difference between the sexes than we can grasp at this moment. One thinks of the many ways in which women have appeared in art and literature - women who have qualities of intellect, of nurturance, or of destructiveness that are universally human rather than sex-linked. Yet not all their character and behavior seems reducible to such universality. One feels that Ophelia, Desdemona, Lady Macbeth, and Lolita, are also distinctively women. Is this a feeling conditioned by the past separation of the sexes or does it point to some real difference?

The tension between the sexes, the dynamics of their relationships, may be founded in differences that perhaps we have not yet been able to

perceive. Perhaps the anatomical difference between the sexes has some determining power. The exposure and vulnerability of the male sexual organ may give rise to a special castration anxiety and to a special protectiveness. A woman's more intimate experience of her body through the menstrual cycle or pregnancy may make for a sense of life and growth not easily accessible to the male. Yet the very data I have presented point to the alterability of the physical and psychological self-image - for instance, through the separation of sex and reproduction made possible by more efficient contraception. The data also put in question, as we have seen, such traditional conceptions as that of the male as the "provider," such notions as that men are more suppressive of emotion, do not cry, do not write poetry, are strongly culture-bound, and so on.

In all the confusion there is only one certainty and that is that the old tendency to assert the superiority of one sex over the other is illegitimate. Very little assignment of social and occupational roles can be made that gives one sex more access to various activities than the other. These divisions did have a biological base as long as much of a woman's active life was spent in pregnancy. But the customary division of labor has shown itself to be subject to modification, particularly through the invention of fresh technology. The technology is recent, hence our present confusion.

One final point: in the past the separation of the sexes, the social and other taboos regulating access of the sexes to each other, combined with the power of the sexual urge and with the fantasies about the parent of the opposite sex generated in childhood, have given rise to enormous idealizations of male-female relationships. At the same time, men and women have worked with each other and loved one another; their relationships have been based upon commonality of interests, similarity of capacity, and the distinctive contributions that two people can make to each other. The tendency toward mutual respect, rather than idealization, may well be strengthened in the present situation. But with the phenomenon of idealization (and its correlative disappointments) we are entering a difficult terrain. It

is in the relations between the sexes that the subterranean psychological forces, both creative and destructive, have found their favorite mode of manifestation; much of art and literature has expressed these forces and tried to understand them. These forces remain as vigorous and difficult as ever and awareness of their presence ought always to be at the back of our minds.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, Nancy. "Graduate Women," in Joseph Katz and Rodney Hartnett, Scholars in the Making. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger, 1976.

Astin, Helen S. and associates. Some Action of Her Own: The Adult Woman and Higher Education. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1976.

Ehrmann, Winston. Premarital Dating Behavior. New York: Bantam Books, 1960.

Katz, Joseph. "Coeducational Living: Effects Upon Male-Female Relationships," in Student Development and Education in College Residence Halls, ed. by David A. DeCoster and Phyllis L. Mable. Washington, D.C.: American College Personnel Association, 1974.

Katz, Joseph. "Home life of the Women Returning to Education," in Astin, Helen S. op. cit.

Leland, Carole A. Women-Men-Work: Women's Career Aspirations as Affected by the Male Environment. Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1966.

Maccoby, Eleanor E. and Carol N. Jacklin. The Psychology of Sex Differences. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1974.

Nye, F.I. and L.W. Hoffman, eds. The Employed Mother in America. Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally, 1963.

EDUCATING WOMEN FOR LEADERSHIP

Margherita Rendel

Abstract

What is leadership and can one be trained for it? Ms. Rendel suggests that, among the various leadership styles, certain characteristics are common: among them, language skills, professional experience, intellectual ability. But, she contends, "the most important quality is self-confidence and a will to lead, to stand out." The education and socialization of girls, she says, tends to inhibit this quality in two very different ways. First, "an ideal of femininity has been set up, the values of which are directly contrary to those qualities needed for success." Second, "women who resist this socialization, with the exception of a token few, are...punished for their temerity and independence." Ms. Rendel discusses the "precarious position of token women," the fact that "girls and women seem...less willing to risk failure than boys and men," and the distortions of women who have been trained to see their life role as almost totally "expressive" (i.e., supportive, nurturing) rather than "instrumental." She discusses sex-discrimination legislation in some detail, maintaining that it is helpful, at the very least, as a "declaration of public policy," although enforcement, of course, is key. Such legislation, she suggests, might provide government support for women's studies; might mandate the evaluation of experience gained "outside the formal job" (i.e., in community affairs) when women are considered for promotions; and might "directly attack stereotyping" and "the sexual specialization of labor."

* * *

Education for leadership - leadership of what? What sort of leadership? Are there any abilities or attributes that are common to different sorts of leadership? If so, can they be taught? Or encouraged? Boys are often said to be "educated for leadership"; should girls be educated in the same way? What part can legislation play in all this? And what sort of legislation? These are some of the questions that came into my mind as I reflected on this paper. I shall try, if not to answer the questions - some seem to me almost unanswerable - at least to offer some reflections on them.

Problems

The very word "leadership" can arouse the deepest antipathy: it is associated with notions of "Der Führer," or "il Duce," with the public school and scoutmaster ethic of the White Man's Burden, with Dollar Diplomacy, with cultural imperialism; in short with arbitrary power, oppression, dominance, paternalism, condescension, instrumental power.

But leadership may also mean quite other characteristics:

> Leaders of the people, by their counsels and by their knowledge of learning, meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions: Such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing.
>
> Ecclesiasticus 44, v.4-5

Here is creativity, imagination, inventiveness, skill, put both to intrinsic or expressive and to instrumental ends, but instrumental ends related to others rather than to the self.

I have presented these different concepts of leadership as at opposite poles, but any definition of leadership is multidimensional. The literature of organizations, of politics, of sociology, of history, has in one way or another much to say about leadership, and various styles or models of it. It is no purpose of this paper to review that literature. More relevant to our discussion is whether there are common factors in these different forms and whether one can develop

or encourage skills and attitudes that are appropriate to a range of leadership styles.

Skills are clearly relevant: skills of language, of diplomacy, of persuasion, as well as professional experience and intellectual and creative ability. Manual or physical skills seldom have the same potential for leadership as the more intellectual ones. This is perhaps an elaborate way of saying that if girls learn Home Economics at school, they are less likely to become Prime Ministers than if they are taught History and the British Constitution.

The subjects girls take at school are strongly biased toward the arts and away from science and mathematics (Statistics of Education). What evidence there is shows that girls do in fact like science subjects, especially mathematics, but that these subjects are often not well taught in girls' schools (Seear, Rendel, Byrne). In mixed schools, whatever inadequate facilities exist are often used for boys rather than girls (House of Lords evidence, Rendel, Byrne). Thus, structural factors in the educational system conjoin with prejudice to exclude girls from an important part of the curriculum and to limit their future access to a range of important careers.

While skills are clearly important, they are not the only requirement. What are the other characteristics essential to leadership? I suggest that the most important quality is self-confidence and a will to lead, to stand out. As has been pointed out many times, much of the socialization of girls in fact restricts the development of self-confidence and self-assurance. Lack of role models, lack of encouragement, lack of interest, lack of opportunity, these have all been documented. The difficulty is wider and deeper. There is in fact a pervasive and sometimes active discouragement. This operates in two ways. First, an ideal of femininity has been set up, the values of which are directly contrary to those qualities needed for success. Women, and young women in particular, internalize those values and limit their aspirations accordingly. This has been well documented in Matina Horner's work on the fear of success, by Jessie Bernard and others.

Women who resist this socialization, with the exception of a token few, are, I submit, punished for their temerity and independence. This process, which is distinct from the simple failure to recognize and reward achievement, has not been comparably documented. Suggestive evidence is to be found in Fogarty, the report published by the Working Party on the Status of Women in the Profession of the British Sociological Association, Rendel 1975, and Korda.

> Unlike men, women who improve their positions by increasing their expertise, by moving up occupationally, or by moving into positions of authority may also run the risk of losing friendship and respect, influence and access to information. They might expect that the strains created by the work might increase and almost none of this will improve with time. (Miller and others, 1975, p. 378)

In this survey, the authors came to the conclusion that discrimination against women operated differentially according to the level of education and expertise of the women concerned. The survey was conducted in five organizations of various types, all of which had been shown by previous research to have a structure and organization which conformed to the ideal-typical meritocratic model. But their researches on the experiences of men and women showed that women tended to find their problems increased by increasing expertise and status, in contrast to those women who occupied positions traditionally defined as feminine (p.367). The authors observe:

> Women who have moved into organizational positions and occupations that allow some access to decision-making and policy formation threaten the very core of male dominance. (p.378)

Much of the female folklore about how to succeed presupposes this process. "Make him believe it is his own idea." "Don't let them see you're tough; use your femininity.

The process of punishment is hard to document for several reasons. The victims are commonly unwilling to talk about incidents that are exceedingly painful. Furthermore, such incidents, if they become widely known, may be very damaging to what is left of the individual's career prospects; thus the individuals may be unwilling

to give accounts of events which may be identified. Also, the process of punishment is not necessarily easily identifiable in the terms in which I have put it. It can appear in terms of personality clashes, nit-picking complaints, disagreements over policy and its implementation. Most of us shrink, very properly, from interpreting such factors as punishment for being an able and ambitious woman. But the personality clash may be a reflection of the inability of the man to tolerate an able woman. As for the trivial complaints, which can be made against anyone and everyone, but are not:

> It is only too obvious that a man has no obligation whatever to a woman who is considered brilliant. To such a woman a man can be ungrateful, treacherous, and even mean (English: spiteful), and no one will think of taking her side.(Madame de Staël)

This kind of singling out can clearly happen to men also. It tends to happen to men for reasons of their political views, for example. But women also have political views. In other words, the process of punishment for success, which can be applied to both men and women for various reasons, can operate additionally against women by reason of their sex. They are exposed to double jeopardy.

There is evidence which suggests that women who are motivated to achieve, in fact conform less and feel less anxiety about not conforming (Schenkel), and that those who seek promotion take a less conventional attitude to home duties (McIntosh). It would seem that these women are more confident of their identity and less concerned about whether or not they appear "feminine." Indeed, in Schenkel's survey, there was no correlation between traditional femininity field-independence, but the latter did correlate very highly with achievement. Such women are therefore less likely to come within Horner's category of women who fear success because they perceive success and what it entails as being "unfeminine." However, the example of women who have been punished for success, whether the process is analyzed in these terms or not, must be a considerable

disincentive: "What's the use?" "Is it worth the risk?" and so on.

The token women are also in a precarious position. They hold their positions on sufferance, on condition that they do not challenge the status quo or attempt to change the system. Often, they dare not help their sisters.

Self-confidence also means a capacity to accept and tolerate criticism, failure, and even defeat, and sometimes on major issues. Girls and women seem, on the whole, less willing to risk failure than boys and men. In one survey it was found that girls preferred to do again a problem they had already solved successfully or one of a similar type, whereas boys attempted a new or more difficult problem or one in which they had previously failed (e.g., Crandall and Robson). There is evidence that women schoolteachers in Britain are less willing to continue to apply for promotion in the face of rejection than their male colleagues (Hilsum and Start, 1974, p.71). A more recent survey by the Association of Assistant Mistresses shows that whereas men are prepared to apply unsuccessfully for promotions perhaps a hundred times, women tend to give up after about three or four unsuccessful attempts, apparently convinced on this small evidence that they are not fitted for promotion.

Perhaps another aspect of the problem of lack of confidence is the difficulty many women have in assessing how good (or bad) their work is. Lack of encouragement, interest, or appreciation has been already noted, but the absence of response to what is done makes it very difficult if not impossible to assess its calibre. Furthermore, women tend to receive criticism for performing badly, either in domestic tasks or in professional work, but neither praise nor reward for performing well.

It is also arguable that women's professional performance is seen as secondary to their domestic performance. Part of the traditional contemptuous or patronizing attitude to single women can be seen in such terms. The toleration of a career for women who have already married and had children may reflect a similar attitude: they have

performed their feminine task. The married woman bears the burden of her child-bearing and child-rearing role, and the single woman that of failing or refusing to comply with the demands of the feminine role.

The absence of an appreciative response to achievement creates difficulties for the woman who has either to put herself down, or set up her judgment against that of society. To take the latter course surely calls for exceptional gifts of independence of judgment and detachment from self. It is those whose self-confidence and self-identity have been most eroded by socialization who most need this capacity, and who have to make a daily act of faith in their judgment and in themselves.

Another factor which may influence women in putting themselves forward for leadership positions is that they are commonly trained to take an expressive and not an instrumental view of their role in life. Many leadership positions in fact require the individual to use other people more or less instrumentally. In an extreme form, the expressive mode means that women see their function as being supportive, applying balm to the wounds of the warrior, preparing and servicing the nest to which the breadwinner may retreat, and so on. Such training is incompatible with the demands of any substantial commitment to professional activity, as Bernard has noted. Men, on the other hand, have been trained to specialize in instrumental functions. As the women's movement has stressed, the specialization of each sex is destructive to itself and to the other. Specifically, however, women's specialization in expressive roles especially disables them from participating in anything that might be called a leadership role or activity.

It would be a mistake to consider educating women for leadership simply in terms of helping the really exceptional young woman to think of herself as a potential Prime Minister, President of General Motors, or Secretary-General of the United Nations. This would not only be absurdly elitist, it would also cut off the few who might aspire to

top jobs from the mass of young women whose aspirations should be raised to a level that is more in keeping with their abilities. We should be thinking of leadership, in the present context, as including any activity that involves stepping out of line from the sex-typed norm. For a girl to become a skilled plumber or a shop steward surely demands the same qualities of courage, self-confidence, and willingness to make herself conspicuous and put herself at risk, as are necessary if she is to make speeches from the hustings or to apply for a chair at a university.

Reforms must therefore apply at all levels - not only for the personal and democratic reasons just sketched, but also because of the inadequacy of selection procedures and the need to provide a solid base. A very few women scattered in a few top jobs are vulnerable and exposed; they appear at best as exceptions, at worst as freaks. They are too strange and unusual and too isolated to serve as role-models. They are shooting stars, not beacons on high places lighted by the national grid.

The achievements of men and women are perceived differently, those of women being rated as lower, even when the achievement is identical. This has been shown in a number of studies of the assessment of women's and men's work and curriculum vitae (Deaux and Emswiller 1974, Fiddell 1970, Lewin and Duchan 1971, Simpson 1969), and in the lower prestige of careers and occupations in which large numbers of women are employed (Touhey 1974). This is also reflected in levels of pay, not only in professional and semi-professional work but also in manual work. Thus nursing, and until recently, teaching, have been low paid among the semi-professional jobs; and the same bias has applied in social work. Now that the level of pay has improved in these fields, more men are entering them. Almost by definition, work done by women is rated as unskilled, whatever it is. Routh shows that the proportion of women doing work rated as skilled in the British labor force declined between 1911 and 1961. Further evidence of low pay in jobs in which women make up a majority of the labor force is to be found in the statistics published regularly in

the Department of Employment Gazette. It is also seen as more humiliating for a man than for a woman to fail at an activity that is labeled as a male occupation (Feather 1975). This applies whether the activity is professional, skilled, or unskilled.

Even in the same jobs, different qualities are expected of men and women. In a Finnish survey (Acta Sociologica 1975, p.199) formal qualifications and long service were considered to be the most important qualifications for women in professional jobs, whereas for men, formal qualifications were considered to be much less important and leadership qualities were expected.

Remedies

So far I have analyzed the problem, or rather problems, many of them circular; the solution of each depends upon the solution of others. My particular interest is in sex-discrimination legislation, and the contribution it can make toward helping to resolve the problems I have outlined. What can be done by legislation depends on the nature of that legislation, and on the legal and social system in which it operates. Let me hasten to make clear that I do not think that the mere passing of legislation will solve all problems; I do however believe it to be a necessary condition for many types of action.

First and foremost, legislation is a declaration of public policy, of the official ideology of a society. In principle, legislation states the ideology which is approved and which, furthermore, is enforceable. An unequivocal statement of equality between the sexes should therefore contribute to enhancing the status of women and must necessarily remove some of the stigma of a previous condition of subjection. What this means in practice will depend on the terms of the legislation and how effectively it is enforced.

Legislation may be of several kinds. It may be merely declaratory. It may have legal or constitutional binding force but require individual initiative for its implementation. It may, on the other hand, require the active promotion of equality by official agencies,

which goes much further than, and is irrespective of individual initiative.

Legislation which provides remedies for individuals who are willing to seek them is dependent upon there being individuals willing to demand those rights. All the evidence suggests both that relatively few individuals do assert their rights by litigation and, further, that many individuals do not expose themselves to situations that would give them a cause for action. Litigation to enforce rights is easier in some situations and in some countries than in others. It is easiest where there is no continuing relationship between the individual and the person or organization she is suing; for example, a woman suing a restaurant or bar which refused to serve her. In fact, many of the successful cases brought under Britain's Race Relations Act of 1968 have been of this sort.

Even cases of this sort require the individual who is suing to have the self-confidence to pursue the case, and to feel either sufficient outrage to her sense of self-esteem or a sufficient duty to uphold the public principles involved, or both, to be willing to give up the time and effort involved. Women and girls are taught to swallow slights and indignities. "Don't make scenes." "You're making a fool of yourself." They are taught not to assert their rights. They are not encouraged to fight back when attacked. Further, girls are taught to think of themselves as private persons, involved in private, domestic concerns. One exception, and the only one, is that women may act on behalf of their children or husband. But in the circumstances I am discussing, it is the woman's own interest and her own rights that are the subject of the conflict. Many women feel guilty at asking for money or benefits for themselves.

The number of women, therefore, who are likely to sue their employers for equal pay or equal opportunity is likely to be small. This problem is likely to be compounded in Britain by the formalistic nature of the legal process. (This is less true of the Industrial Tribunals, which have exclusive jurisdiction for discrimination cases,

and concurrent jurisdiction for equal pay cases.) But the legal system is very conservative in character, greatly expensive, and very narrow in its canons of interpretation. These features are in contrast to American law and French administrative law.

In Britain, therefore, promotional legislation is likely to be of major importance. Here again, the administrative process tends to be conservative and regulatory rather than promotional, but promotional legislation can do much to assist change in publicly provided services such as education. However, such legislation is unlikely to be of much help in changing textbooks and other materials which affect women's attitudes toward themselves and men's attitudes toward women. In Sweden such action has been possible, but in Britain a long established and deeply rooted tradition allows great autonomy to teachers, and especially heads of educational establishments, in their choice of curriculum, books, and other materials.

The Equal Opportunities Commission set up by the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 has clear promotional functions:

> S.53 (1) (a) to work towards the elimination of discrimination,
>
> (b) to promote equality of opportunity between men and women generally, and
>
> (c) to keep under review the working of this Act and the Equal Pay Act 1970 and, when they are so required by the Secretary of State or otherwise think it necessary, draw up and submit to the Secretary of State proposals for amending them.
>
> S.54 (1) The Commission may undertake or assist (financially or otherwise) the undertaking, by other persons, of any research and any educational activities which appear to the Commission necessary or expedient for the purpose of section 53 (1).

In what ways can these functions, together with the powers conferred by the Act, be used to help in the education of women for leadership in the wide sense that I suggested earlier?

Before discussing the use that can be made of this legislation,

I want to say something about the activities that it might support. It could well turn out that the reach of such legislation is greater than its formal terms.

Women's consciousness has been raised, essentially by the women's movement, through small consciousness-raising groups. These groups have rightly concentrated on avoiding conventional leadership and organization and on fostering self-awareness in their members. From such groups have grown a variety of self-help organizations in which women have had the self-confidence to acquire skills and then apply them to their own problems.

There has also developed a critique of established scholarship. Women's studies courses have developed and are developing in the United Kingdom in universities, polytechnic institutes, and other institutions of higher education, very commonly in adult education, and to some extent in schools. A recent report (Hartnett, Rendel & Fairbairns, 1975) showed, from an incomplete survey, more than thirty courses in universities alone. Women's studies, whether in teaching or research, can be seen as the intellectual arm of the women's movement. They are concerned with correcting and completing the scholarly record which, up to now, has been largely concerned with what men have done and how they have done it. Women have been perceived as a deviation from the male norm, treated as of lesser importance, or excluded. In some cases, women have been specifically excluded when findings concerning them have significantly deviated from the male norm (Refs: Research on Achievement Motivation).

> Some women's studies courses have had the aim of helping women especially to revalue themselves in the light of new knowledge about the achievements of women and their contribution to human progress. This knowledge can help further the advent of a more equitable and therefore more stable society by increasing the awareness of oppression and its consequences in waste, bitterness, and hostility between oppressor and oppressed. The relations between men and women serve as a paradigm case. This knowledge can also contribute to the self-confidence and knowledge needed to use the mechanisms society has developed to provide for peaceful change. (Hartnett et al, p.3.)

Many women's studies courses are taught by women who are temporary, part-time, or visiting lecturers, or who do not have tenure. Probably no course in a university has been taught by a woman holding a senior position. The number of men who have been involved is negligible. In polytechnic institutions or colleges of education (the less prestigious establishments of higher education), one or two women holding more senior positions have been concerned with women's studies courses.

The continued development of women's studies courses depends on new research but evidence seems to suggest that at all levels women may be undeservedly less successful than men in obtaining research money (B.S.A. Report, Rendel 1975). The allocation of money from the Department of Health and Social Security, for research on centers for battered women, has gone predominantly to men. That fact reflects in part the distribution of men and women in the academic hierarchy; men are on top (Statistics of Education), at least partly as the result of discrimination (Blackstone and Fulton 1975). It may also be that these subjects, and indeed others, of particular interest to women are not perceived as being important by grant-making organizations.

In these circumstances, the powers of the Equal Opportunities Commission (E.O.C.) under S. 54 of the Act may be of the most value and help. The research would be directly relevant to the Commission's work and the courses would contribute significantly to the Commission's educational work. In particular, the research will deal with aspects of curriculum which a public agency, such as the Commission, can scarcely dare to touch - at least under British conditions.

The Commission may also support training for those who are concerned in the selection of individuals for recruitment, training and promotion. A good deal of research, as has already been noted, indicates the extent of bias, especially unconscious bias, in the judgements that are made of men and women respectively. There are many ways of training people to recognize such subjectivity in themselves; perhaps one of the most useful techniques is that of role

reversal. This can have a traumatic effect on those who suddenly realize what has been hidden from them before. The British reaction would tend to be to shrink from exposing individuals to such a drastic learning process, but one wonders whether in the circumstances such timidity is justifiable.

The E.O.C. can also use its powers to give practical and financial assistance to self-help groups concerned with promoting equality between the sexes.

Promotional legislation can clearly influence the job market, as the affirmative action programs in the United States have shown. Although these have been subjected to criticism for many different reasons, they have at least alerted attention to the problems involved, and this is worth a lot. At best they have made more jobs available to women, have increased women's salaries, and led to the holding of jobs under better conditions.

Improvement in the job market for women affects the use that women and girls will make of the education system as was noted in evidence to the House of Lords:

> There can be little doubt that job opportunities cast their shadows ahead and that girls of average ability are unwilling to pursue with energy some subjects which they know cannot lead them to satisfactory jobs. Discrimination in employment is therefore one of the reasons for the drop-out of girls from education.
>
> (House of Lords evidence 1972/73, p.77 and quoted in Second Special Report, p.5.)

The problems of leadership in the job world and education for leadership, are mutually dependent.

To repeat: educating women for leadership should not be seen as training an elite but as preparing generations of women. The E.O.C. in Britain, in considering with employers the promotion of women to the most senior positions, is confronted with the difficulty that there is only a tiny pool of women who have had experience at the levels immediately below. Consider, for example, the following comparison: a woman (F) and a man (M) are both applying for the post of Deputy Director of the Education Service.

F has a professional qualification and experience. She has had a few years of experience in administration, but with responsibility for running an established part of the service and has not had the possibility of doing development work. She is now an Assistant Director, earning £ 5000 p.a., and in her early forties.

M has a professional qualification and experience. He has had a few years of administrative experience. He was encouraged to transfer to policy and development work which is ranked higher and accordingly better paid. He has not yet had to carry through a policy against opposition. He is a Senior Assistant Director in his middle thirties, earning £ 6000 p.a.

F and M are equivalent in professional qualifications, and in length of experience in administration. However M has had experience of a more prestigious kind, although there is no evidence, as yet, that he will be markedly superior at performing it. He is, however, in a better position to seek advancement in that he has the better title and is earning the higher salary. He is also younger than F, but not too young; so that his greater youthfulness, combined with his higher salary and better title, will add to his advantage in competing for the post of Deputy Director. It will at least allow members of the interviewing panel to claim that he has "promise" and F has nothing to set against this claim. It would also seem that M's career has been encouraged in a way that F's has not. It is therefore difficult to argue that F is the better candidate, although it could well be that her talents are the greater.

How should such cases be tackled? Should the woman be appointed, sent on a training course, and given the necessary support by senior management? And if she is, will she be able to appear as authoritative in the eyes of her subordinates, some of whom may have had the experience she lacks and think they ought to have had the job? In any case, it is difficult to avoid the dilemma of either reverse discrimination, or perpetuating the effects of past discrimination.

A possible way around this obstacle is to take into account initiatives sought and carried through outside the formal job, and to weigh this form of achievement in relation to the difficulties overcome. The teachers seeking promotion, whom Janet McIntosh describes, might be single or married, with or without children; but in addition to job and home, they have been active in local community and political affairs. They are clearly women of energy, capacity, and initiative. It is sometimes possible for the woman, denied opportunities in her

job, to make those opportunities for herself outside it. In these circumstances, she will be able to test her organizing skills, her capacity to speak in public, her ability to convince her fellows, to carry responsibility, to attempt those things she never knew she could do. She may have to learn to confront her limitations and her failures, to survive them and to understand that failure should not be seen as a threat but may more accurately reflect the measure of what was attempted, the strength of adverse circumstances, or sheer bad luck.

Sex discrimination legislation has yet another major contribution to make. It can directly attack sex-role stereotyping and what Jessie Bernard calls the sexual specialization of labor. Besides giving women access to jobs and activities previously reserved for men, it can also give men access to jobs and activities, such as child rearing; and to conditions of work, such as time off for home responsibilities, that have previously been granted only to women. If part-time work can be made available to women, then sex discrimination legislation can insure that it is also made available to men, just as the effect of Danielson v. Board of Higher Education has been to make maternity leave of one year available to either parent for employees of the City University of New York.

The effects of part-time work for all could be far-reaching, as the following passage, written in 1968, suggests.

> Part-time work should become a recognized and normal form of employment. Married women will suffer if part-time jobs become available only at the cost of being underpaid and their holders undervalued....More flexibility should be introduced into the pattern of men's employment. At present, virtually all men have a continuous career and it will be relatively rare for women to do so. Women will tend to be at a grave disadvantage in competing for the highest posts and, because they will seldom occupy them, it will tend to be assumed, as it too often is today, that they are incapable of doing so. Hence promotion opportunities for women will be restricted, causing a downward vicious spiral. In the future, men (as well as women) will need retraining....But more important will be the recognition of all part-time work for pension purposes....
>
> More part-time jobs would solve a lot of problems - and

not for married women only. Both single women and married and single men could profit from their ready availability. Creative artists, research workers, students, those doing freelance work, those engaged in public work, those undertaking voluntary work, would be able to combine a regular but small income with work for which little or no payment might be available. Those in the process of changing from one career or occupation to another, those recovering from severe illness or accident, and those nearing retiring age would also benefit. Workers faced with redundancy might prefer to work short time at their old firm while undergoing training for a new occupation....Thus, working part time instead of full time is a worthwhile contribution in its own right to a profession or occupation, and part-timers should not be called upon only as temporary expedients when full-timers are hard to get.

Men would profit from being able to have a break in their careers, perhaps in middle age. There are other advantages besides those mentioned. Opportunities for recreation and travel are wider and individual resources in the "affluent society" are greater than ever before. Yet only a very few people are able to put the two together, because it is assumed that people must be occupied throughout all their active life with their daily work, apart from short annual holidays. If the family is not dependent on the husband alone, and if the wife receives equal pay, there is an effective choice as to which shall work or whether both shall work full time or both shall work part time, and this is a choice that the couple will be able to vary from time to time. Thus it would be possible for a husband to stay at home and look after the children. It is universally acknowledged that bringing up children is a rewarding and satisfying task. Therefore women should not monopolize it. For the unskilled male laborer, perhaps it is the only important creative and responsible task that could be easily within his reach....

(Rendel, 1968, pp.24-30)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Official Publications, Legislation and Cases

Department of Education and Science, Statistics of Education (ann.) HMSO.

Department of Employment, Gazette, London, monthly.

House of Lords, (1971/72 and 1972/73), Select Committee on The Anti-Discrimination (No. 2) Bill, (H.L.), Minutes of Evidence and Proceedings, HMSO.

House of Lords, Session 1972-73, Special Report and Second Special Report from the Select Committee on The Anti-Discrimination Bill, (H.L.), 81 and 104, London, HMSO.

Race Relations Act, 1968, c.71.

Sex Discrimination Act, 1975, c.65.

Danielson v. Board of Higher Education, 71 Civ. 2985 (April 12, 1972), W.R.L.R. No. 2, Spring 1972, p.38.

Books and Articles

Association of Assistant Mistresses, Promotion for the Woman Teacher, Gordon Street, London, 1976.

Bernard, Jessie, Women and the Public Interest, Chicago, Illinois, Aldine-Atherton, 1971.

Blackstone, Tessa and Oliver Fulton, "Sex Discrimination among University Teachers: A British-American Comparison," British Journal of Sociology, London, September 1975, pp. 271-75.

British Sociological Association, Report of the Working Party on the Status of Women in the Professions, London, 1975.

Byrne, Eileen M., Planning and Educational Inequality, N.F.E.R., 1974.

Byrne, Eileen M., "Inequality in Education - Discriminal-resource Allocation in Schools," Educational Review, 27(3), Birmingham, England, June 1975, pp. 179-91.

Crandall, V.J. and A. Robson, "Children's Repetition Choices in an Intellectual Achievement Situation following Success and Failure," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 97, Provincetown, Massachusetts, pp. 161-68.

Deaux, Kay and Tim Emswiller, "Explanation of Successful Performance on Sex-linked Tasks: What is Skill for the Male is Luck for the Female," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 29, No.1, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Eskola, Irja and Elina Haavio-Manilla, "The Careers of Professional Women and Men in Finland," Acta Sociologica, 18(2-3), Copenhagen, 1975, pp. 174-201.

Feather, N.T., "Positive and Negative Reactions to Male and Female Success and Failure in Relation to the Perceived Status and Sex-Typed Appropriateness of Occupations," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 31(3), Washington, D.C., March 1975, pp. 536-548.

Fiddell, L.S., "Empirical Verification of Sex Discrimination in Hiring Practices in Psychology," American Psychologist, Vol. 25, No. 12, Washington, D.C., 1970.

Fogarty, Michael, et al , Women in Top Jobs, London: Allen & Unwin for PEP, 1971.

Hartnett, Conagh, Margherita Rendel and Zoë Fairbairns, Women's Studies in the U.K., London Seminars, 71 Clifton Hill, London, 1975.

Hilsum, S. and K.B. Start, Promotion and Careers in Teaching, N.F.E.R., 1974.

Horner, Matina, "Towards an Understanding of Achievement-Related Conflicts in Women," Journal of Social Issues, 28(2), Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1972, pp. 157-175.

Korda, Michael, Male Chauvinism, How it Works at Home and in the Office, New York: Random House, 1973.

Lewin, Arie Y. and Linda Duchan, "Women in Academia," Science, Vol. 173, Washington, D.C., September 3, 1971, pp. 892-95.

McIntosh, Janet, "Differences between Women Teachers who do and do not seek Promotion," Journal of Educational Administration, XII (2), Australia, University of New England, October 1974, pp. 28-41.

Miller, Jon, Sanford Lapovitz and Lincoln Fry, "Inequities in the Organizational Experiences of Men and Women," Social Forces, 54(2), Chapel Hill, North Carolina, December 1975, pp. 28-41.

Rendel, Margherita and others, Equality for Women, London, Fabian Research Series 268, 1968, reprinted 1972.

Rendel, Margherita, on behalf of British Federation of University Women 1972-73, Evidence to House of Lords Select Committee (13), pp. 69-112.

Rendel, Margherita, "Men and Women in Higher Education," Educational Review, 27 (3), Birmingham, England, June 1975, pp. 192-201.

Routh, Guy, Occupation and Pay in Great Britain, 1906-60, NIESR, CUP, 1965.

Schenkel, Susi, "Relationship among Ego-Identity Status, Field-Independence and Traditional Femininity," Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 4(1), New York, 1975, pp. 73-82.

Seear, Nancy, Veronica Roberts and John Brock, A Career for Women in Industry?, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1964.

Sherman, Malcolm J., "Affirmative Action and the AAUP," AAUP Bulletin, Washington, D.C., Winter 1975.

Simpson, Lawrence A., "Attitudes of Higher Education Employing Agents toward Academic Women," Comment, Vol. XII, No. 1, Wayne State University, Michigan, 1969, pp. 41-46.

Tennov, Dorothy, "Mode of Control and Reinforcement Density as a Function of the Sex of the Behaver," paper presented to the 81st American Psychological Association Convention, Montreal, Canada, 1973.

Touhey, John C., "Effects of Additional Women Professionals on Ratings of Occupational Prestige and Desirability," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 29, No. 1, Washington, D.C., 1974, p. 86.

PROJECTED FUTURE EMPLOYMENT AND LEADERSHIP NEEDS AND AREAS

Andrée Michel

Abstract

"Research into the sociology of knowledge indicates that science is inseparable from a system of power." Ms. Michel pleads for a "reconversion" of scientists and scholars to the ideal of cooperation rather than competition, to renewed concern for "the interests of the sociological minorities" - women, workers, blacks, people of the Third and Fourth Worlds. She stresses economic independence for women as the precondition for equality within the family, and a necessity of life for those who are single, widowed, or divorced. Ms. Michel describes in detail the exploitation of women in the underdeveloped world, most of whom are attempting to raise food for their families with little or no knowledge of modern agricultural techniques, and quotes an Economics Professor at the University of Dakar: "With the installation of the money economy, the status of the woman who produces food for the community becomes marginal. Her work becomes progressively degraded." The author mentions, too, the omission of household work from statistical data and suggests that women in households be included in labor statistics as "workers in the home" so that, at least, they attract "the attention of society." To reverse the trend toward increased poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and disease, Ms. Michel says, women in great numbers are needed in the health field, in food production, in "the human sciences" such as sociology, in international and national planning, in education; in short, the "professions which are necessary for a better society."

* * *

Introduction

It seems to me very difficult to prepare an analysis of the subject, "Projected Future Employment and Leadership Needs and Areas." The events of recent years have revealed all too many failures of forecasting experts. Who had foreseen the energy crisis, the decline of the West, the rise of unemployment, the hunger which looms in the future for the people of the Third World? One of our most brilliant French futurologists wrote this sentence in 1965: "Today, after having slowly raised the agricultural production of the fields in the course of recent centuries, we are arriving at such an agricultural capability that each hectare can nourish an indefinite number of humans."[1]

Is there anyone today who really believes that every hectare of land is inexhaustible and of an unlimited productivity?

Research into the sociology of knowledge indicates that science is inseparable from a system of power. Science is concentrated in the rich and industrial countries, and within these, it is in the hands of a masculine, middle-class elite: the scientific community is in fact a closed, elitist world with few openings on the external world; the expert and the scholar are encouraged to remain in their ivory tower and to intellectualize the great social movements which unroll outside them. As a French sociologist has written: "Science grows out of the same myths as democracy. Universal in principle, science is in fact reserved for a middle-class masculine elite. In the same manner, democratic power, which is in principle universal, is in fact exercised by that same segment of the population."[2] A good illustration of this failure of science is the appearance of new concepts (i.e., the "patriarchal system" and "sexism") which have been born in the women's movement outside the universities, and which are only invading them now thanks to women's studies. In France, the concept of sexism has penetrated the legislative domain. Under the

[1] Jean Fourastie, The 4,000 Hours. Pans Bibliotheque Médiations, 1965.

[2] Jacqueline Feldmann, "The Savant and the Midwife," in Impact of Science on Society, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1975.

pressure of the women's movement, an anti-sexist law has been passed which permits women to present themselves before the courts when they are the object of sex discrimination. But this concept is still refused by academics, who are cut off from the deep changes stirring the feminine masses.

Must we, then, do without scholars and men of science for predictions of the future? It is not a question of that. But we must demand their "reconversion," and this can only be accomplished under certain conditions.

The first is to become more interdisciplinary. Is it conceivable that a sociologist can make a prospective evaluation of future employment needs without the collaboration of economists, demographers, political scientists, agronomists, or statisticians?

The second condition is that we must also invite to the round-table nonexperts who represent the interests of the sociological minorities (certain of whom are also democratic majorities): women, workers, blacks, people of the Third World and those of the Fourth World (as we have begun to designate the millions of people in rich countries who do not have the minimum requirements for life). It is for these social minorities that those who have power - men in relationship to women, intellectuals as opposed to manual laborers, leaders in industrialized countries compared with those in the Third World, whites as opposed to blacks, the rich compared with those in the Fourth World - make decisions which will dominate the future. Do we really believe that the armaments race among the great would be pursued at a continually increasing pace, despite all conferences on disarmament, if the poorest of the Third and Fourth Worlds, and not just the governmental representatives, were called to the world conference of experts?

We will be told that in formulating the problem as such we go beyond the role of the scientists and the experts and that we enter the game of local or world politics. But there is no other alternative. To believe that the future can be deduced from the progress of science and technology is an error. For this progress takes place in a power system where injustices and inequalities are institutionalized and

generate war and social conflict. In using technology for predicting the future, the expert errs, thus deceiving those who surround him. It is not technology or science which decides the future of humanity, but the voluntary choices of those in power. The expert's affirmation that technology will determine the future implies his refusal to analyze the power system which directs that technology in its service; it follows that this refusal implies the complicity of the expert with the present system.

In this paper I have tried to take as my point of reference the needs and aspirations of these underprivileged minorities, insofar as they have been identified.

Projected Future Manpower

Is it desirable that the employment of women increase in the world? We answer "yes" because we believe, along with both Marxist and capitalist sociologists, that economic independence is the best way for a woman to escape a disastrous marriage in the West,[3] and the polygamy of her husband in parts of Africa and some Third World countries. In the family group where only the husband earns a living, the latter has priority in making decisions for his wife and about her work; it is only when a woman practices a profession that she can establish more equality in the relationship.[4]

Second, in case of separation, widowhood, or divorce, the woman who has a job can exist on her own despite the diminution of her income. Experiments performed in France, on the return to work of widowed or divorced women, reveal that it is more difficult to readjust to the demands of a professional life after ten, twenty or thirty years than after shorter periods of absence.

If one of the goals of society is that of making the individual

[3]Breker, H., R. Hill, et al, Family, Marriage and Parenthood. Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1955.

[4]Andrée Michel, "Travail professionel de la femme et la vie conjugal." Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1974.

autonomous, that autonomy has as a first condition economic autonomy, for any other condition places the individual in a position of dependence upon someone else. It is thus necessary for us to list the kinds of economic activities which women perform in the world, to see to what degree these activities will give them some economic independence in the future.

In the developed countries, as in less developed countries, there are several sources of income:[5]

> money income earned by the exercise of a salaried profession, manual or intellectual;
>
> money income earned by the exercise of an independent profession (doctor, lawyer, businessman, industrialist) in which one sells products or services to society;
>
> incomes in kind earned by the exchange of goods produced by the family for other foods or products; and
>
> incomes in kind coming from goods and services produced by the family and consumed by the family.

The following portion of this paper will examine schematically the question of the future possibilities of each of these four sources of income.

I ought to say at the beginning that it is very difficult to compare the developed world with underdeveloped regions, given the considerable differences that exist in the practice of compiling labor statistics in each country. In underdeveloped countries, the important category of unsalaried workers in the family (usually the feminine members of the household, working in agricultural enterprises, crafts, and small trade) is sometimes included in statistics on the economically active population and sometimes left out.[6] This renders comparisons among countries extremely difficult.

An illustration of the difference between statistics on the

[5] See for example Esther Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970.

[6] "Les femmes dans la population active. Situation generale: BIT," in Impact of Science on Society, April-June 1975, Vol. 25, No. 2.

active population and the "effectively" active population is given by the Economic Council of Africa which, after having assembled the statistics from 22 countries, states that African women represent only 12 percent of the economically active population. Yet most estimates are that "these women accomplish, nonetheless, 60 to 80 percent of the work on farms, producing and preparing, practically by themselves alone, virtually all the food."[7]

Similarly, women in developed countries who produce necessary services in the home for members of the family (taking care of children, the sick, and the old, performing domestic tasks, and so on) are not included in statistics of those economically active whereas these same services are included when they are provided by salaried women. The BIT (Bureau Internationale de Travail) gives, in effect, the following definition of the active population: "the ensemble of persons employed, including those who work on their own, who earn a salary, as well as members of the family who work without receiving remuneration, with the exception of women who are always occupied with housework."

If one restricts oneself to the conception of the active population defined by the BIT, statistics on the employment of women are pessimistic for the future, for these statistics project only a low rate of participation of women in the labor force in the year 2000 (see Table 1).

The developed countries include: Europe, the U.S.S.R., the U.S. and Canada, Japan, those in the temperate zone of South America, Australia, and New Zealand. The underdeveloped countries include East and South Asia except Japan, Africa, Latin America except the temperate zone, Oceania except Australia and New Zealand.

We posit that the participation of women in the total active population will go from 33 to 36 percent for the developed regions, and will decrease from 26 to 24 percent in the underdeveloped regions. Also we note that in the year 2000, out of 100 working women about 70 will belong to the underdeveloped world. In the developed regions the

[7]"La moitié du globe," in Peuples, International Planned Parenthood Federation, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1976.

rate of growth of the number of working women, in the course of thirty years from 1970 to 2000, will be higher than that of men; it is projected at 36 percent for women and 31 percent for men. On the contrary, in the underdeveloped regions, it is predicted that the rate of growth in female labor will be lower (by 82 percent) than the rate of growth of active men (96 percent).[8]

TABLE I: Forecast of the increase of feminine labor from now until the year 2000 and rate of participation of women in the labor force[9]

	Developed countries		Underdeveloped countries	
	Rate of participation	Number of Workers in Millions	Rate of participation	Number of Workers in Millions
1970	33%	187	26%	332
1980		208		396
1990		228		486
2000	36%	254	24%	603

The BIT also predicts that disparities will be very great from one country to another, within these two general categories. Thus, in the developed countries, the following countries will have a rate of increase of female labor superior to men: U.S. and Canada (+79 percent), Australia and New Zealand (+128 percent), and the temperate zone of South America (+89 percent). The areas where the rate of activity of women is already high will experience a slower growth. Thus the growth rate will be +23 percent in Japan and the U.S.S.R. and +31 percent in Europe. On the contrary, the rate of increase of female labor will be +134 percent in Latin America (except in the temperate zone), whereas it will only be +59 percent in Asia.[10] In sum, the BIT foresees that "in a general manner, during the period of thirty years between 1970 and 2000, feminine labor will show an increase higher than masculine labor in Europe, North America, the temperate zone of South America, Australia, and New Zealand, and around the same rate of increase in Japan, East Asia, and in the

[8] Impact, Vol. 25, No. 2.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

underdeveloped regions of Latin America and Oceania. In the U.S.S.R., masculine labor will, according to the predictions, increase in higher proportions than feminine labor. In Africa the rate of growth of masculine labor will only be slightly higher than feminine labor."[11]

Also, we can ask if the goods produced by the family in exchange for other foods or products will increase the economic independence of women before the year 2000. This alternative seems unrealistic, if socioeconomic conditions remain the same; the agricultural products produced for their families by women in Asia, Africa, or South America will not show any increase. This is due to women's ignorance of modern agricultural techniques, a critical lack among rural women which is described by Esther Boserup.[12] It is also the subject of complaint of all African women.

It is thus that Maitre Thompson-Trenou, a lawyer in Togo, describes the fate of "millions of peasant women who lack simple drinkable water, or roads which are kept up for the transportation of their agricultural products to fairs and to distant markets, who work in inhuman conditions in the fields, for miserable salaries....Our peasant sisters do not know how to read or write; they always sign with a cross or fingerprint. Most of them do not have radios to listen to for advice on health and on household organization....And those who have are able to hear talk about their rights but have no way of exercising them. Finally, they do not have any money to enjoy fully the benefits of civilization. Thus only a small category of educated women, very involved, stand in the forefront of the struggle for emancipation, as opposed to the entire mass of African women, whose private lives are still ruled by certain precepts drawn from the Koran, or by customs applied by traditional chiefs."[13]

[11] Ibid.

[12] Esther Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970.

[13] Maitre Thompson-Trenou, "Reflexions sur le problème complexe de l'émancipation de la femme africaine dans le cadre des objectifs de l'année internationale de la femme," in "L'émancipation et la promotion de la femme africaine," in AGECOP-LIAISON, September 1975, Vol. III.

This is similar to the situation described by Mme. Dos Santos, former expert at UNESCO, in her paper at the French language roundtable in Dubrovnik in June 1975. In the African countryside she visited, she found the rural African woman reduced to an exhausting struggle with the soil, "which hardly permits her to nourish her family." Mme. Dos Santos adds that "to have a little bit of money she gives herself over to gardening, with tools so archaic that the result is negligible by comparison with the effort put forth. She persists nevertheless and the field dedicated to agricultural products either becomes more and more exhausted, or the products are entirely sold and malnutrition and hunger gain slowly but surely. No technical improvement or any other kind of improvement have touched her life to help her in her domestic tasks. Modern mechanized agriculture is reserved for men and has not touched her at all, practically speaking. Education is lacking for her, or mostly lacking. The percentage of women who do not even know the alphabet exceeds 80 percent. What has happened? Colonization broke the balance of the African woman and made a tabula rasa of everything which existed, to impose its own mode of life and destroy the community, the only viable system in the rural zone."[14]

Listen to Fatoumata Agnes Diarra, Professor of Economics at the University of Dakar, on the overexploitation of rural women in Africa: "In many African countries, notably in the forest civilizations, agricultural production and the marketing of agricultural products is especially the domain of women. With the installation of the money economy, the status of the woman who produces food for the community becomes marginal. Her work becomes progressively degraded. Modern nomenclature recognizes this imperfectly by trying to establish a distinction between primary, secondary, and tertiary activities. This indicates that work in the sector of agricultural production becomes the object of exploitation of the capitalist economy. One

[14]Helene Dos Santos, "Obstacles à la pleine participation des femmes africaines au développement," in AGECOP-LIAISON, September 1975, Vol. III.

could say that this sector represents an area where exploitation is focused....In effect, if one tries to compare working activities in the food/agricultural sector with those of industrial agriculture it appears that for most of the industrial cultures the working time seems shorter on the one hand; and on the other, production is bought at a price set by the world market, whereas this is not true at all for food production. Otherwise said, if the international economy exploits work in the sector of agriculture exportation, it is paid for at least at a given price, whereas in agricultural production, which takes to itself the subsistence of an entire working force in the service of that economy, none of this is true."[15]

Is it because this rural work of women in food production is over-exploited that the BIT, predicting a withdrawal of women from this production, is led to foresee a diminution in women's rate of participation in the underdeveloped nations? We can then ask ourselves if there is only this prospective future awaiting us: illiteracy and intense exploitation of rural women, desertion of the countryside and exodus to the city, generalized hunger.

Would it not be better to seek another alternative - the reevaluation of women's agricultural work, and the education and initiation of rural women into modern agricultural techniques and into the use of contraceptives?

This is the solution which Esther Boserup suggests when she proposes "a rebalancing of the role of the sexes" in underdeveloped regions. This establishment of equality implies the following measures:

> the identical education of boys and girls, in the countryside and in the city - the girls' education including modern techniques of agriculture and industry, the boys' including domestic tasks;
>
> the prohibition of preferential employment of men in the cities;

[15]Fatoumata Agnes Diarra, "Les rôles féminins et leurs changements dans l'afrique contemporaine," communication au colloque de Dubrovnik (June 16-21, 1975).

> the better use of women in the labor force who already live in the cities of underdeveloped countries, thus allowing a country to economize on its investments in social services in favor of rural people just arriving in the city, and to use the educational potential of urban women;
>
> the creation of well paid jobs and improved working conditions for young rural women so as to retain them in the countryside; and
>
> the evaluation of the status of women by means other than child-bearing, which means that women in the Third World would have to have access to professional activities.[16]

As we see, equality of instruction and the rebalancing of roles are necessary if we wish to reduce the population explosion, and eliminate famine from the underdeveloped countries.

The proposals of Esther Boserup and the women from Africa and the underdeveloped regions have not gone entirely unheard. In 1975, at the world women's conference in Mexico, a plan of action was suggested which "calls attention especially to the importance of creating economic, social, and cultural conditions necessary to improve the situation of millions of rural women, to permit them to become modernized agricultural producers."[17]

Participants in the Mexico conference asked the governments of the world:

> to formulate and execute, by giving their financial and political support, programs of rural development, in particular those which give advantages to women living in conditions of rural poverty and who are disadvantaged in comparison with men;
>
> to assure, as an essential element of all rural development programs, the legal equality and the economic rights of the women in the rural family;
>
> to request of international and bilateral organizations that they review the criteria on which they furnish financial, technical, and other assistance in rural development, and that they take account of the interests of women and young girls in rural zones.[18]

The work accomplished by women who re ain in the home falls into

[16] Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development.

[17] "La conference de Mexico," in AGECOP-LIAISON, September 1975, Vol. III.

[18] Ibid.

The work accomplished by women who remain in the home falls into two categories; the care and education of children, and domestic tasks (cooking, sewing, housework, etc.). The necessity for equality between the sexes demands that this work be divided equitably between the two spouses, and that the spouses be helped by collective groups such as nurseries, day-care centers, kindergartens, and so forth.

In the meanwhile, time and budget studies reveal an enormous disparity between the time devoted by women and men to educational and domestic tasks. In fact, it has been estimated that the total hours devoted by women to domestic tasks equals the total hours dedicated to professional work. In the United States, the duration of work of an average American woman is estimated at 70 hours per week.[19]

In the United States, the American Home Economics Association, stimulated by Kathryn Walker, declares that "if the national economic indexes took into account the value of domestic work, women would benefit from it psychologically as much as economically, for the monetary value of goods and services is a recognized index of value. To neglect to include the value of domestic production in the economic indexes (as in the gross national product)* contributes to making national and state politics discriminatory in the areas of taxes, employment, social security, insurance, and social services intended for the family and for the child. If the policies of labor are not equalized with regard to women, it is in part because the responsible politicians do not understand that household work has a monetary value, a value which varies according to the phases of the cycle of family life....Inequalities exist as well in cases concerned with social advantages; insurance for illness or disability because of occupational illnesses, for example. Fiscal policies regarding inheritance, social security, and taxes on income do not always take into consideration the

[19] K. Walker: Declaration of the American Association of Domestic Economics at the request of the Interparliamentary Economic Commission of the U.S. Congress.

*Parentheses added by the author.

role which is played in the conjugal relationship by the economic value of household work. Another example of economic inequality is furnished by the new regulations for automobile insurance, taking account of the absence of fault, which is in force now in certain states, rules which do not take into consideration the importance of the domestic production of the wife for the economic wellbeing of the family and of the society."[20]

Here again, it should be noted that the World Congress in Mexico took into account the suggestions addressed to the American Congress by the American Association of Home Economics when it elaborated a plan of action which urges "the recognition of the economic value of the work of women in the household, in the production of domestic food, and in the small trade and voluntary activities which are not traditionally remunerative."[21] Is it necessary to go further and give to women, as some demand, a "domestic" salary or "maternal" salary? It does not seem so, for two reasons: first, no state can permit itself to give women a domestic salary assuring them economic independence; next, the attribution to women of a "maternal" salary would have as its result, instead of abolishing the traditional division of work in the family, the reinforcement of it, and the making of the wife into a state functionary, officially vested by the state with the role of domestic in the family group. Such a situation would tend to perpetuate the traditional division of masculine and feminine roles in the family.

The solution can thus only consist of an equal division of domestic and education tasks among the two spouses and by the creation of collective services such as nurseries, day-care centers, and kindergartens, capable of helping the couple in its educational and domestic role. Also, women in the household might be included in the labor statistics as "workers in the home," instead of being omitted from the data, as is presently the case. In that way, the attention of society would be drawn to the unused potential of female labor; women are most often obliged to remain in the home because they have no entrance into the

[20] Ibid.

[21] IWY Bulletin, No. 6, September 1975.

labor market. In the course of this discussion, we have arrived at a revision of the forecasts of the BIT for female labor from now until the year 2000. The projection of the BIT assumes a lowering of the status of women in the underdeveloped countries; illiteracy and the withdrawal of rural women from agricultural production; a movement to the cities; and the less-than-adequate capacity of the urban employment market to absorb the women who emigrate from the countryside. In the developed countries the BIT does not include, in its statistics on working women, those who produce goods and services in the home which are not sold on the market but are consumed by the family. What we affirm here is that it is necessary to work toward realizing certain conditions to increase the participation of women in professional life and in all phases of production from now through the year 2000. Women themselves must ask all organizations, whether they be governmental or nongovernmental, to apply the provisions voted at the conference in Mexico; provisions which foresee the equalizing of education between boys and girls, the promotion of rural women and their participation in the techniques of modern agriculture, the elimination of discrimination against women in employment, the juridical equality of spouses in marriage and the family, the recognition in both national and international economic indexes of the domestic work of women, and so on. If these measures were demanded by the women of all countries, if educated women placed themselves at the service of their less fortunate sisters in the underdeveloped countries, then there would be a chance for the predictions of the BIT to be proven false, and for the participation of women in production and in professional life throughout the world to be increased.

Leadership Needs and Areas

The needs, and the areas of priority, can only be defined with the aid of a thorough knowledge of the present-day situation and of current predictions for the future. Thus, what do experts predict for the period from now to the year 2000? First, a worsening of poverty. According to the World Bank, in the year 1975, the income per person for a billion

people who have less than $200 a year has not increased at all. The future will be equally disturbing, for the income of these populations is likely not to increase more than one percent per year from now through 1980. In order for the underdeveloped regions to move out of poverty, it is necessary that the rate of growth reach 6 percent per year from now through 1980. Thus, the gap is growing between the developed and underdeveloped nations of the world.[22]

We can foresee also a growth in the number of those who live in "absolute poverty," those who have an annual income below $50 per person. At present 650 million, this number is growing at 2 percent per year.[23]

Illiteracy will increase. Today it touches almost 750 million individuals older than 15 years; in ten years, unless rapid measures are taken, more than 850 million people will be illiterate.[24] But the growth of illiteracy will touch women more than men if nothing is done to change the situation: in 1960 there were 307 million illiterate men and 420 million illiterate women. Ten years later, illiterate men had grown in number by 8 million, and women by 40 million; that is to say by five times more.[25]

One result of this growth of illiteracy and misery in the world is the population explosion. The Bucharest Conference statistics show that since 1950 the rate of population growth has been 2 percent per year: "At this rate the world population will double every 35 years."[26] At these rates, in the year 2000 the world population will have reached 7 billion.

We estimate too that it will be women who will be the most handicapped by the population explosion, as the magazine Peuples (People)

[22] LeMonde, Paris, France, August 27, 1975.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Peuples, Vol. 2., No. 2, 1975.

[26] "Report on Bucharest," in Family Planning Studies, the Population Council, June 1975, Vol. 5., No. 12.

has indicated: "We count 2,700 million children who will be born during the period from 1970 to 2000, and, once more, it will be women who will bear and be responsible for all these children....The resources must be divided yet again, and, as we know, it will be women in general who will sacrifice themselves for the other members of the family....The growth of the population, and thus of food requirements, will necessitate supplementary efforts from women. If the system which employs men continues as it is, women will become ever more marginal."[27]

These predictions are being fulfilled already in the increase of illiteracy among women of the Third World; in the fate of females in countries such as India the female mortality rate at birth and in the ages from 15 to 35 is much higher than that of males in that country, due to more severe malnutrition;[28] in the daily life of African peasant women, who, because cash crops for export are given precedence over products for local comsumption, must work even harder to hoe and to weed by hand, and walk longer distances to carry water by hand to their animals. Moreover, they are more often than in the past heads of family and producers for the needs of the family because of the departure of their husbands to the city.[29] Finally, as a result of the cutting of the forests, African and Asian rural women must go even farther than before to find the wood necessary for cooking.[30]

The population explosion, itself a consequence of the misery of the population and of very high infant mortality, provokes in its turn the degradation of the status of women, the degradation of the environment, and lack of food. The FAO estimates that the need for wheat among the poorest nations averages from 800,000 to 1.6 million tons.[31]

[27] Peuples, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1975.

[28] "Les léopards et les femmes," in Peuples, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1975.

[29] Peuples, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1975.

[30] Ibid.

[31] "Stocks alimentaire mondiaux," in Peuples, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1975.

Thousands of adults and children have already suffered and will still suffer famines like that in the Sahel, in Bangladesh and India.[32] Moreover, we estimate at 460 million the number of people who experience chronic malnutrition: "There exists a whole palette of nutritional deficiencies....Pregnancy and the period of lactation only make these deficiencies worse. The lack of vitamin A, which can lead to blindness, is widespread and affects a great number of young children. But it is especially the lack of protein which is at the base of the high percentage of infant mortality. According to the statistics, an estimated 10 million children younger than 5 years old suffer severe deficiencies, whereas 90 million suffer medium deficiencies.[33]

In sum, "chronic malnutrition" - a condition which affects more than 300 million children in the world - contributes to the slow physical, mental and intellectual development of extremely young children.

Famine, malnutrition, and diseases caused by lack of food are aggravated by another lack which menaces humanity - the energy crisis, especially the lack of wood: "There exists a serious shortage of wood, principal source of domestic energy, for nine-tenths of the population of Africa, Asia, and certain parts of Latin America. Too often the growth of the population is more rapid than that of trees, which is hardly surprising if one realizes that a person uses on the average more than a ton of wood per person per year."[34] The shortage of heating wood is thus linked to the problem of food in two ways: on the one hand, the destruction of the forests, and on the other the use of earth as a combustible, both practices which deplete the capacity of the earth to produce food. As an Indian functionary declared, "Even if we succeed in growing enough food for our population in the

[32] "Rapport spécial sur la conference de l'alimentation," in Peuples, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1975.

[33] Ibid.

[34] "La crise du bois de chauffrage," in Peuples, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1975.

year 2000, how in the devil will we cook it?"[35] The deterioration of the soil in mountainous regions is also a fact quoted by all the experts.[36]

Thus we are confronted with an unending cycle: lack of education, infant mortality, and misery creating the population explosion; the population explosion increasing the burden on educational institutions and causing famine, malnutrition, and the depletion of soil and forests. Is there no way to escape this impasse? Are these the evils which inevitably await humanity in the year 2000, or is there a way of remedying the situation? The example of China, a country which has succeeded in containing its population within reasonable limits, is instructive: no population policy can be effective unless the level of education and standard of living is raised; that is to say, without a "new economic order." China has shown us that giving women a sufficient level of education and better living conditions fosters the practice of birth control. There is also the birth planning policy of the Chinese government, which is aimed at reducing the population explosion.[37] Elsewhere, research has shown that in Turkey the educational level of women correlates with the size of the family. The higher the former, the more the second is lowered.[38]

The forecast for the future must also include the situation of the Fourth World in our advanced industrial societies. We know that the unprecedented expansion of advanced industrial societies in recent years has not succeeded in reducing inequalities among social classes. There remain even in our advanced societies a quarter or a third of the population with living conditions that are barely decent, and a somewhat

[35] Ibid.

[36] "L'homme et les montagnes," in Peuples, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1975.

[37] "La fillette vendue devient docteur aux pieds nus," in Peuples, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1975.

[38] Ruth Dixon, "The Rights of Women and Childbirth," in Bulletin of Demography and Family Planning, June 1975, No. 17.

lower proportion suffer from absolute poverty and do not have the minimum necessities for life. In the Fourth World of the advanced societies, single women, widows, divorced or separated women, form a high percentage of this group and as a result of a low level of education they are obliged to accept work which is poorly remunerated. In France for example, of three groups of salaried workers who have attained only the "minimum salary" two are women workers, whereas women only make up 38.4 percent of the total of the population classed as active by the Statistical Institute. Finally, more than half the job seekers in France are women (50.3 percent).[39]

All the statistics of advanced countries reveal that the percentage of female heads of households with infants or adults to care for has grown since the beginning of the century, and that these heads of households are responsible for a larger number of children. In the United States, the percentage of black female heads of households went from 15 percent in 1930 to 27 percent in 1969, whereas among whites it rose from 9 percent to 19 percent in the course of the same period.[40] The increase in divorces is an indication that that tendency will grow. Thus, in 1970 we estimated that in the United States there were about 3 million women heads of households; in 1973 this number had grown to 3,796,000.[41] In March 1973 about 11.5 million children under 18 lived in families whose fathers were absent, jobless, or outside the work force: 45 percent of all black children were in this situation, as opposed to 33 percent of all white children.[42] The difference in standard of living was very marked according to whether the mother worked or not - thus, in families with children where the mother worked and there was no father, the average family income in 1972 was

[39]"Informations No. 13," Comité du Travail Féminin. Paris: Ministère du Travail, November 1975.

[40]Abbot Ferris, Indicators of Changes in the American Family. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1974.

[41]Monthly Labor Review, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics, May 1974.

[42]Ibid.

$5,750, as opposed to $3,495 when the mother did not work. The corresponding average family income, in families with both a father and a mother, were $13,840 when both worked and $12,120 when only the father worked. The average family income was even lower in families headed by a woman when the children were younger than six years, for the mothers had more difficulty in working.[43] Thus, one can identify pockets of misery constituted first by families headed by women, with this misery aggravated when these women have no professional activity and children are of a young age.

The pockets of poverty in our advanced societies are thus made up, in most cases, of families headed by women and most especially by those who are widowed, separated, or divorced. As a result, if the situation of women in advanced societies does not change, the reduction of inequality between the sexes will not be achieved between now and the year 2000.

After this rapid overview, one can more easily identify the professions in which women can contribute to the development of the Third World, and to the disappearance, in developed countries, of the Fourth World. We cite here some of the professions in which a number of qualified women are necessary.

The professions in which we would like to see women in great numbers are those, with two exceptions, teaching and health, where they are not numerous today, at least not in developed, capitalist societies. We would divide and assign priority in these professions according to the promotion of a better society, one that is more egalitarian and less likely to generate famine, hunger, tension, and wars.

1. An understanding of nature, of natural resources, and food production - this requires entrance into the fields of geology, chemistry, ecology, and mineral resources; the training of women environmentalists, researchers, technicians, and mechanics in agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and animal husbandry.

2. Development of the health of populations. This requires the massive training of women as doctors, surgeons, and medical specialists in all areas, particularly those of birth control, tropical medicine,

[43] Ibid.

and nutritional research and technology, plus the administration and organization of health services and family planning. Each year the underdeveloped countries lose thousands of doctors who emigrate to the United States. Yet in India, for example, it was estimated in 1970 that it was necessary to educate about 1,000 doctors per year to ensure the success of family planning programs in the near future.

3. The development of specialists in human sciences - sociologists, ethnologists, linguists, and in particular, interpreters and sociologists of communications, all professions where (with the exception of interpreter) women are still rare. In fact, it is not enough to wish to modernize agriculture or dietary habits in less developed countries; it is necessary that anthropologists and sociologists work with agronomists and nutritionists to understand the resistance with which traditional societies react to social change. We must have women who specialize in the less-well-known foreign languages so that communication can develop with all countries and among all national minorities. Women trained in philosophy must determine the humanistic objectives for societies. Psychologists and sociologists must change the traditional images of masculine and feminine roles.

4. The development of international and national planning, urban and rural, requires the education of women planners - economists, demographers, statisticians, urbanists, architects, etc., in short, women specialists in research and technology as applied to planning. The growth of the rural population, which will double from 1950 to the year 2000 should not cause us to forget that from now to the year 2000 the urban population will form half of the total world population, whereas the urban population represented only a quarter of the population in 1950. In the course of this period, the absolute number of urban inhabitants will quadruple, passing from 750 million to 3.1 billion. As a result of this growth, in the year 2000, in developed societies, 75 percent of the population will be living in cities, whereas that proportion will reach 40 percent in less developed countries.

It is necessary that women in great numbers become urban planners, architects, researchers, planners and technicians of transport and

communications, leisure, traffic, and distribution of essential goods (water, electricity, food, etc.), for the struggle against pollution and other urban ills, if we want life to be supportable in the cities. Urban and rural planning, national and international planning, will require a large number of researchers and technicians in economics, demography, and statistics.

5. We must consolidate women in the educational systems at the same time as we create a new equality between the sexes in that field. Instead of the very high percentage of women in preschool, primary, and secondary teaching, and low numbers of women in higher education and those technical professions which have been called masculine, we must have more men in preschool, primary, and secondary teaching, and a considerable rise in the percentage of women who are technically educated for the so-called masculine professions (in particular metallurgy, wood, paper, cardboard, textiles, etc.). Finally, we need more women in higher education, especially in law, mathematics, physical sciences and chemistry, and economics and demography. The growth of feminine effectiveness in teaching positions in those fields will help give young women a more favorable orientation toward those professions previously considered masculine. We know that at present the education of young women prepares them in general for so-called feminine careers (i.e., child care, selling jobs, secretarial work, etc.) which are already saturated and subordinate, whereas they could much more easily find work in manual and technical professions (as electricians and plumbers, for example).

Similarly, it is necessary that a large number of women enter the professions of higher education and scientific research: they will function as needed role models for their students.

6. Finally, it is not enough for women to enter areas which have been refused them up till now because of their sex, it is also necessary that women participate in decision-making, whether it be as members of parliamentary assemblies, members of executive and judiciary organizations at the state level, or members of national or international societies.

Aside from official power, there are also informal power and pressure groups: organizations of workers, officials, businessmen, etc. In all these groups, as in the churches, women must win decision-making positions so as to influence other members as well as the general public. Women must also form feminist movements, to influence the public to define society's objectives more carefully.

Conclusion

Women in underdeveloped countries threaten the survival of humanity if they continue to have too many children. Their productivity in agriculture is weak, but the responsibility for this devolves on the men who have left women in ignorance, and on the privileged in the rich societies who do not wish to share their privileges with the poor. In all societies, developed or undeveloped, the poorest of the poor are the women. We must note that the men in underdeveloped countries - in Asia, Africa, or Latin America - link their virility to their procreative power, and the women of these countries are conditioned to believe this.[44] In developed countries the "virility" of the man is expressed by keeping women away from equality and power, by limiting her to the home and domestic tasks and the education of children. She is not accepted as a full and equal associate; in the world of work, she is considered marginal. Men continue to collaborate with each other whether at the national or international level, to solve alone national or world problems which concern both sexes.

What are the results of the policies of this unisex society, built and conceived uniquely by one half of humanity, while the other half is ignorant or powerless? They are far from satisfying and even translate into a certain failure - there is competition and rivalry, unemployment, civil war, and an unprecedented stockpiling of destructive armaments; famine and the threat of atomic war loom on the horizon. It remains to be seen whether the most educated women in the developed countries, working with those from less developed countries, will change the

[44]AGECOP-LIAISON, September 1975.

course of things, stop the mad armaments race and demand that the billions of dollars now devoted to arms be used instead for education and the raising of standards of living.

In demanding that they participate effectively in decision-making, women will only be fighting for a truer democracy, against a discrimination that prejudices the future of humanity - the discrimination between the sexes. The World Congress of the International Women's Year "issues a call to all countries, in particular to those powers possessing nuclear arms, that they proceed urgently and resolutely to a general and complete disarmament, and especially to nuclear disarmament applying concrete and efficacious measures which will guarantee decisive progress toward a world without arms and wars, a world of peace and comprehension among nations, which will permit the liberation and use, for the well-being of peoples and civilization, of the considerable human and material resources which serve to produce means of destruction; this would grant one of the most ardent wishes of women and men throughout the world."[45] Is it conceivable that the nations of the world, which exist through rivalry, competition, power, and nationalism will reply to that call, in the absence of a continuous pressure from women of every country - organized and guided by the best educated?

In the second place, educated women must respond directly to the call addressed to them by the World Congress in Mexico: "It is just that the women who, on the occasion of International Women's Year, affirm the principal of equality, assume their duty of solidarity with those who do not enjoy the material and intellectual advantages necessary for human dignity."[46] Consequently, the Mexican Congress issues an urgent appeal to women to concern themselves "with women who, along with their families, live under the yoke of an intolerable misery; demands now that women work alongside the least-favoured women in their efforts to satisfy their everyday needs, in their struggle

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

for change, in their participation in the struggle for peace; recommends that women intervene especially to persuade governments and government organizations to collaborate in setting up structures which will allow individuals and groups - including charitable organizations - to work to eliminate the causes of misery, the great economic disparities and the draining conditions of poverty, which threaten the dignity of women, men and children."[47]

I do not see how women from developed societies can answer this call and place themselves in the service of their sisters in the Third and Fourth Worlds, if they do not use their education to exercise the responsibilities we have spoken of earlier - thanks to their professional engagement in economics, demography, agriculture, chemistry, medicine, the administration of health services and the distribution of food; in local, national and international planning and rural and urban planning; in politics and the organization of services. Also, one could ask if women will move in great numbers toward these professions if they do not have an objective which transcends the simple individualistic quest for money and economic independence. The education of women, and more particularly the professional training of women in technical schools, high schools, and universities, must include the data on the future which awaits the human race in the year 2000 - data which point to alarming conditions at that time if nothing is done to remedy present evils. In particular, we suggest that, beginning with secondary schools, we should give an important place to demography, to economics, to the distribution and utilization in the world of natural resources and food, to the problems of nutrition and of distribution of income according to country and social class. We must instill in young girls the ideal of human solidarity, which an individualistic society based upon individual well-being has not taught them. Then it will be easier for them to break with the prejudices which until now have prevented them from entering certain professions and achieving certain competencies, from taking on the professional, social, and political responsibilities to which their level of education

[47] Ibid.

entitles them. When women understand that raising their level of education and putting it to use, along with the exercise of the highest professional and political responsibilities, are indispensable to the survival of humanity, it is likely that they will be more ready to leap the barriers which, until now, have held them back.

The Rockefeller Foundation

Board of Trustees

Theodore M. Hesburgh, *Chairman*
John H. Knowles, *President*

Kenneth N. Dayton
Robert H. Ebert
Clifford M. Hardin
Ben W. Heineman
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Lane Kirkland
Mathilde Krim
Richard W. Lyman
Bill Moyers
Jane Cahill Pfeiffer
Robert V. Roosa
Henry B. Schacht
Nevin S. Scrimshaw
Frederick Seitz
Maurice F. Strong
Paul A. Volcker
Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.